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—See page 36

NATIONAL REVIEW

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SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS: DEFINED.

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By David Brooks

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LETTERS

Be Square or Beware

I must agree with George Gilder ["The Sexual Revolution at Home," Oct. 10] that promiscuity is empty and—with the emergence of AIDS—dangerous. I also prefer thinkers who paint in broad strokes, grandiose generalizations. But Gilder goes too far when he pinpoints sexual liberalism as *the* problem of the West. I'd say it's a symptom of a much larger trend, such as rampant philosophical relativism. It's also dubious to be so confident about the moral superiority of women and a uniquely female ethos that is the source for all morality. After all, what about the recent Miss America verbal back-stabbing nonsense? Just as a man is capable of being a cad, so a woman isn't beyond being a cat. So don't go off half-cocked, Mr. Gilder. Your "Be Square or Beware" attitude is inspiring, but just a little at odds with the facts. The study you cite on suburban bliss is from 1971, but you could update your theory by noting a front-page story from the September 25, 1986, *Wall Street Journal*, entitled: "If You See Families Staging a Comeback, It's Probably a Mirage."

Arnold Nuff
New York, N.Y.

Down by Law

I read with great interest the "Campus 1986" section of the September 26 issue, but I wish I could say that West Virginia University fit David Shifflett's description of a typical Southern school more likely to teach than to indoctrinate.

The West Virginia University Law School not too many years ago was a place with a modest goal: to prepare its students to ably serve their largely rural clients in the small towns and cities from which those students came. Now the goal is to make the law school a "national" law school. The result has been largely disastrous, at least for the students and their eventual clients. I recall a Civil Procedure course wherein we discussed at length whether it was "right" for a collection agency to repossess a refrigerator from an Eskimo family, but gave short shrift to the legal issues involved in the case. In my Constitutional Law class we heard nothing about the state of the law before the New Deal, except that it was "reactionary" and "anti-majoritarian" in ways that *Roe* v. *Wade* was not. A new professor teaching an elective course called Law and Economics favored taxing personal incomes over $30,000 per annum at 100 per cent, because anyone who made more than that was a "workaholic, usually a doctor or lawyer or similar professional," who would work just as hard even though deprived of his income.

My only solace was the knowledge that my "nationalized" law school was as bad as some of the best law schools in the country.

Luke A. Lafferre
Morgantown, W. Va.

Wishful Thinking

Brian Crozier, in "The Arms-Control Morass" [Sept. 26], states that the Soviet Union would never agree to truly disarm because it is ideologically dedicated to our overthrow.

It is true that Communism is committed to the defeat of capitalism, but Communists do not at all believe that this must come through military means. On the contrary, Marxism teaches that every capitalist society will eventually destroy itself through internal contradictions. The Soviet Union is therefore ideologically free to abandon militarism.

It is conceivable this will happen. For the Soviet Union, the arms race is dangerous, expensive, and often counterproductive. The Russians may well decide at some point that they would be better off if everyone, including themselves, truly disarmed. And indeed, it is just such a change of mind that President Reagan hopes to produce through SDI and his other efforts.

Les Brunswick
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Only Fooling Ourselves

The report on the situation in Afghanistan ["Afghan Prospects," "The Week," Sept. 12] is far from "well informed." Quite the contrary, it appears based on wishful thinking and self-delusion.

The Soviets in Afghanistan are *not* in the sort of "deep trouble" suggested by your informant; they are *not* facing much worse than Vietnam; there is not now and never has been (despite Soviet disinformation hints) any serious evidence that they are willing to give up control of Afghanistan by one means or another. It is true that they had expected to win

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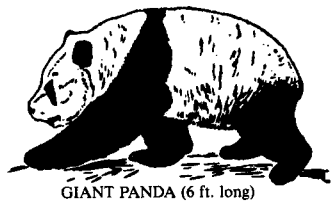

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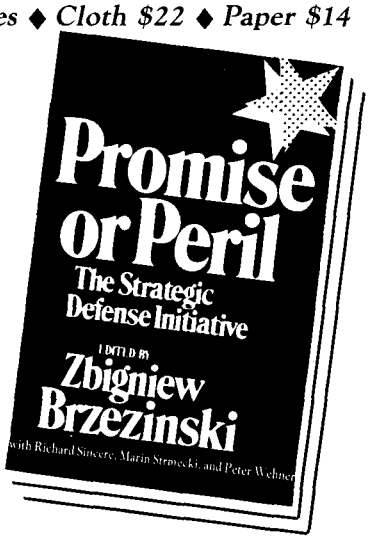

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more easily, but they have dug in for the long haul and are prepared to give the time and effort necessary to crush the Afghan people. The continuing building of permanent military and civilian installations is merely one of many indications of their intent to stay.

The truth is that the Afghan people continue to fight a desperate war against a ruthless enemy determined to consolidate control over their highly strategic homeland, no matter how long it takes. Your report was correct in stating that the Soviets kill, mutilate, and terrorize (see *NR*, Oct. 4, 1985)—and more, and worse. Time is not on the side of the Afghans, only the tomb.

Nevertheless, the Soviets have not yet won, and the courage of the Afghan people is a lesson to the world. There are indications that the resistance is being helped, but to suggest simplistically that the only problems are a few incompetents and corruption, that a few thousand grenade launchers could turn the tide, and that all that is needed is "a little nudge" in a war "we can win on the cheap," is not merely to blind us to the reality but to betray the struggle and sacrifice of the Afghan people over the past seven years.

Rosanne Klass
Director
Afghanistan Information Center
Freedom House
New York, N.Y.

Blackballed

"Show Trial '86" ["The Week," Aug. 29] was right on the money as regards Ted Kennedy's inquiry into Justice Rehnquist's probity. While the transcripts of the Chappaquiddick inquest indeed remain under lock and key in Massachusetts, my book, *Senatorial Privilege*, does not. Written under contract to Random House, the book was withdrawn when Random choked on clearly documented evidence of perjury and obstruction of justice. After Random backed down, other publishers—eager to read the manuscript themselves—quaked at the idea of publishing the book. One editor-in-chief of a major publishing house in New York recently rejected the book "with regret," although the reportage was "exhaustive, likely, definitive, and to be admired for its details," but found that revelations about Chappaquiddick "seem to lack immediacy" after nearly twenty years.

Would you agree that a coverup that has lasted 17 years "lacks immediacy" in this case?

Leo Damore
Old Saybrook, Conn.

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Here's a simple but powerful investing technique that anyone can understand. It's based on the rise and fall of interest rates. And you can profit handsomely whether the rates go up or down.

"Hot Tips" and Hard Work...

You're a small investor. You've got maybe one or two thousand to invest. Or five, or ten. Somehow you don't quite trust the advice you could get from brokers, accountants, bank managers and the like...you figure they have something to sell you.

Or, maybe you decide to rely on so-called hot tips from friends, or investment gurus. Or you try to figure it all out for yourself from the ads in newspapers and magazines. Somehow...you don't feel quite right about that either...

And if you get lucky, *really lucky*, you'll wind up making maybe 15% on your money. Minus commissions and taxes of course.

In the end, let's face it, you feel you might as well leave your money in the bank.

But you know enough to know where *that* gets you.

So what's the answer?

The "TED" Spread

Well, how about, for example, a little-known technique that's been around for years...and used only by what we call the "SuperInvestors"? You know, the guys who make their living at it. The fat cats. It's been one of their little secrets until now. It's called, simply, The TED Spread.

And here's what it offers:

- *Anyone* can do it–easily.
- *You* decide the amount to put at risk (as low as $1000).
- You have the potential to double, or even triple your money–in *months*, not years.
- Takes 5 minutes of your time a day.
- Annualized returns of as much as 400%–and more–are possible.
- The opportunity usually occurs three, maybe four, times a year.

I know, I *know*. It sounds too good to be true.

22 Great Little Investments

But I *guarantee* that if you read on, you'll *surely change your mind* when you find out more about The TED Spread.

So...what's a TED Spread?

Well, let me back up just a little. For over a year now we've been researching into what we've come to call *The SuperInvestor Files*. And so far we've come up with twenty-two great little investing numbers that your broker–if you have one–may not even know much about. And the first one we've put into plain English is The TED Spread.

Recipe for Success

The TED Spread is the first technique in the new series *The SuperInvestor Files*. How it works is explained in precise detail, in language anyone can understand. *Nothing* is left to your imagination...you'll be shown exactly:

- *How* and *why* the strategy works
- *When* and *how* to implement it
- *Which* brokers to contact (or use your own)
- Exactly *how* to place your order
- *How* to monitor your investment
- *When* and *how* to take profits
- Commission costs...tax treatment...

in other words–*everything* you need to know, even if you've never invested before in your life!

Don't Take Gambles

The special characteristics of The TED Spread make it an almost perfect investment for the small investor with limited funds or people who, though they may have more money, don't want to take unnecessary gambles. Yet, with only a few exceptions, the full workings of this technique have remained part of the private reserve of the big-money SuperInvestors–until now.

Why? Because very few small or conservative investors have ever had the privilege to be *shown* exactly how and why the strategy works–even though implementing it is easy.

The Upside, The Downside.

The strategy is based on interest rates–but here's the beauty of it: IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER RATES GO UP OR DOWN. You have the potential to make money either way. So as I've said already, with The TED Spread you have one of the few investments in the world featuring both limited and defined risk–*and*–virtually unlimited profit potential.

Here's an example of what I mean. (Don't worry if you don't understand it fully, it's all carefully explained in *The SuperInvestor Files*.) After you've learned about The TED Spread, let's say you decide to put up $1000 to secure a position in a spread at 100 points–here's what would happen as it moved to various levels:

Rises to:	Your profit is:
500 points	$10,000 (1,000% return!)
250 points	$ 3,750
150 points	$ 1,250

Bought at 100 points

Drops to:	Your loss is:
80 points	$ 500
40 points	$ 1,500

An investment in a TED Spread can produce this kind of profit–sometimes in only a few months–with a level of risk you can hold to $1,000 or less. Of course you can double or triple these numbers by opening more spreads.

Now, get this–The TED Spread has never –repeat, *never*–dropped as low as 40 points. It has *only rarely* dropped below 80 points. It has, however, been as high as 500 points, and several times has reached 400 points!

Thus, The TED Spread risk is *very* limited...and the profit potential is virtually unlimited.

Now, if this short disclosure has intrigued you just a little, why not ask for a free look at the complete TED Spread File? After all, as one man told us, *The SuperInvestor Files* are "like getting ice cream in July"!

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Here's how you can get all the information you need–and more–on The TED Spread–Send your name and address to:

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Then we'll send you *SuperInvestor File #1*–The TED Spread. Read it, use it...pay for it only if you want to keep it. Otherwise send it back within two weeks of receipt and you won't owe a cent. Each file costs $25.00. So, if you decide to keep File #1 The TED Spread, we'll send a new file to you for a free two-week look about once a month. You send any one back, we'll gladly cancel you from the series.

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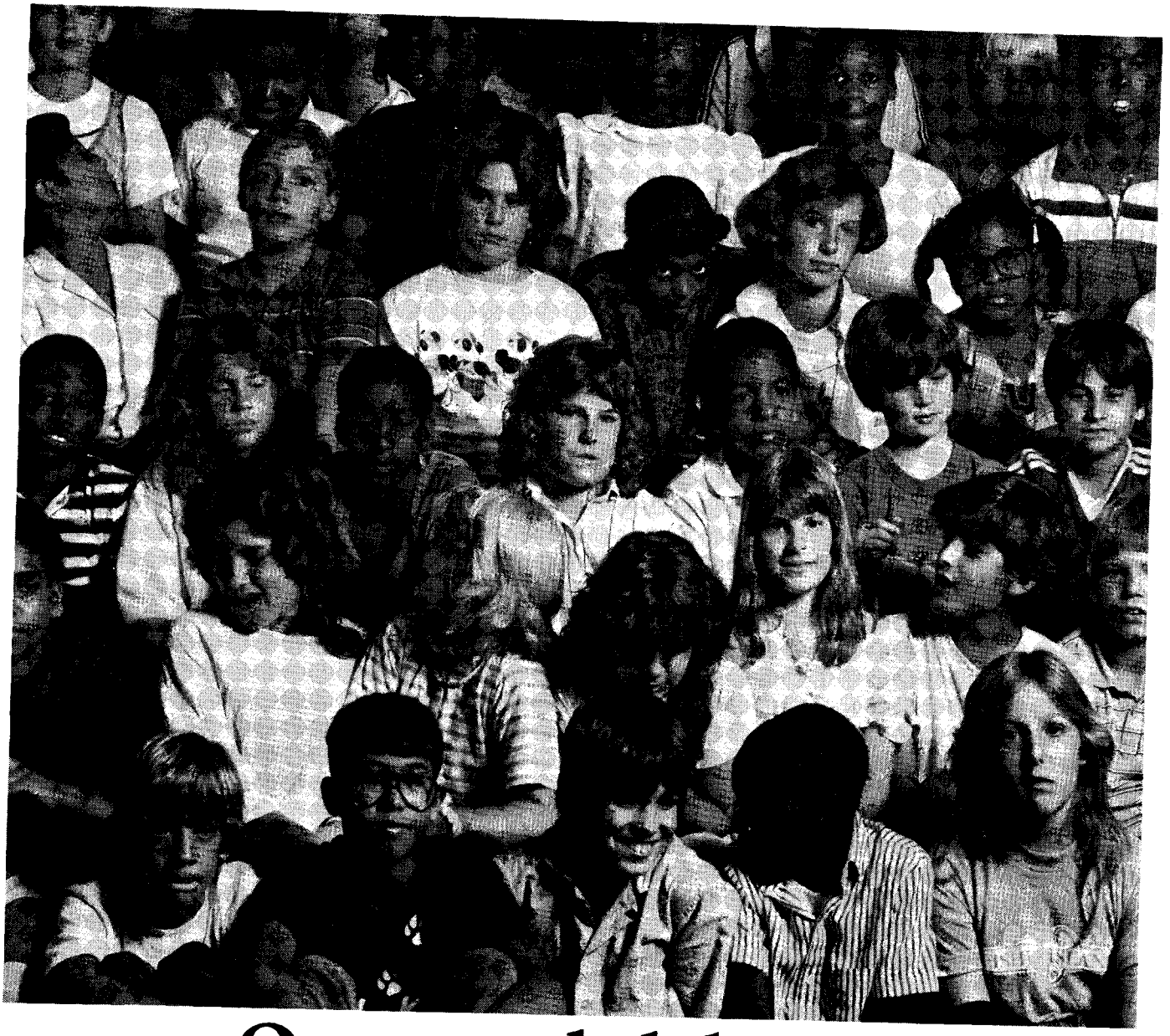

Overcrowded classes. Where bigger isn't better.

Imagine trying to divide your time equally among 30 or 40 employees a day.

This is the daily dilemma teachers face in overcrowded classrooms. They must spend more time with the low achievers, extra time with the brightest students, leaving little time for the rest of the class.

In most schools, a student gets hours of daily instruction. But when a child needs special encouragement or one-on-one teaching, she or he is lucky to get ten minutes of individual attention a day.

Regardless of grade level or ability, students achieve more as class size is reduced. A student in a class of 40 will score 10 points lower on national tests than the same student would in a class of 20.

We've also seen that smaller classes decrease discipline problems. And they increase a student's self-esteem while also increasing a teacher's job satisfaction.

Reducing class size is a primary goal of the NEA. We know it is one of the surest ways of getting education back in the picture and on the track of excellence. And that is our goal.

In over 128 years, that's never wavered. We stand for excellence in every classroom, for every child.

nea

National Education Association

THE SUBJECT IS EXCELLENCE

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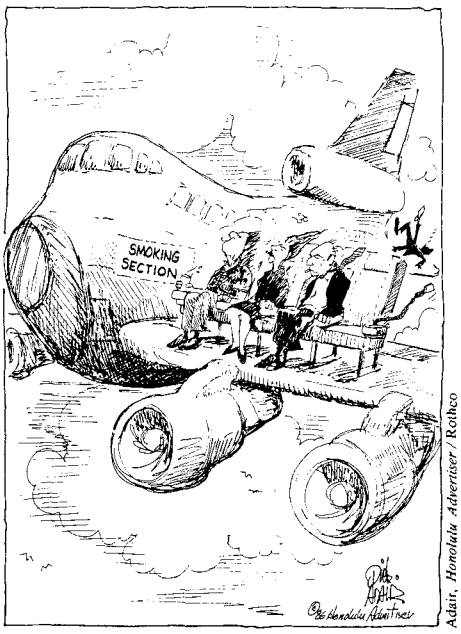
FOR THE RECORD

Senate races in home stretch: Republican incumbent **Jeremiah Denton** of Alabama continues to benefit from Democratic feuding in governor's race, where two Democrats are seeking the office, one as a write-in. Democratic chaos hurts Denton challenger **Richard Shelby**. . . . Florida incumbent **Paula Hawkins** is still behind Democrat **Bob Graham**. . . . In North Carolina, the *Charlotte Observer* poll, which shows GOP senator **James Broyhill** pulling ahead of former governor **Terry Sanford**, shows why: increased Broyhill support from Tarheel Democrats. . . . Wisconsin Republican incumbent **Robert Kasten** helped by opponent's boo-boo. Private-eye hired by Democrat **Ed Garvey** to dig up dirt on Kasten was caught posing as a reporter and planting anti-Kasten stories. . . . *Denver Post* gives Republican **Ken Kramer** a narrow lead over Democratic Rep. **Tim Wirth** in their fight for seat **Gary Hart** will vacate in his quest for higher things. . . . New Hampshire's **Warren Rudman**, the Siamese triplet of **Gramm** and **Hollings**, maintains his huge lead over Democrat **Endicott Peabody**, despite the campaign of conservative independent **Bruce Valley**. . . . Nip and tuck in Missouri between Lt. Gov. **Harriet Woods** and moderate Republican **Kit Bond**. Mrs. Woods drew flak for accepting $2,000 contribution from **Jane Fonda**; she "slapped the face of every Vietnam veteran in Missouri" (Missouri Veterans Who Haven't Forgotten). . . . Another GOP moderate, **Ed Zschau**, still trails California peacenik **Alan Cranston**, even though, as *Time* put it, in a state "that worships youth and glamor," Cranston has neither. . . . In Oklahoma, although polls still show GOP incumbent **Don Nickles** ahead, Rep. **Jim Jones** closes the gap. . . . Meanwhile, the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, a nonpartisan research group, turned from the captains and the kings long enough to look at state legislatures. "If the Republicans continue to make inroads," says director **Curtis Gans**, "the U.S. House of Representatives and the entire cast of American politics could have a very different partisan coloration in the 1990s." Since 1976 GOP has gained 135 seats in state upper houses, 553 in lower houses.



Adair, *Honolulu Advertiser* / Rotheo

Lee Iacocca is running hard for President—in the polls, at least. Miscellaneous samplings—in *Successful Farming Magazine*, *Salt Lake City Tribune*, *Detroit News*—show him coming out on top. But so have **Gallup** and **Arthur Finkelstein** polls of Democrats nationally. (Finkelstein's numbers: Iacocca, 19.9 per cent; Hart, 18.7; **Cuomo**, 10.5; **Jackson**, 9.4; **Robb**, 2.3. Gallup's: Iacocca, 48 per cent; **Bush**, 42). . . . But would the Democrats ever nominate him? **Kevin Phillips**'s *American Political Report*: "We doubt it." . . . Republican all-but-candidate **Pat Robertson** shores up his evangelical base. Robertson's September rally at which he asked for three million petition signatures urging him to run was attended by **Oral Roberts**. Fire-breathing **Jimmy Swaggart**, who had once derided Robertson candidacy, and **Rex Humbard** had both endorsed him earlier. Biggest surprise of all: George Bush supporter **Jerry Falwell** met with Robertson, promised not to campaign "actively" for the Vice President. . . . *Washington Post*/ABC poll in aftermath of Pan Am hijacking in Karachi shows nine out of ten Americans had read or heard about the incident (a high level of awareness); 74 per cent supported military actions against any Middle Eastern nation backing anti-American terrorism; half thought Col. **Qaddafi** had been involved; 38 per cent said bombing of Tripoli in April lessened terrorism, 43 per cent felt it made no difference.

Coming and going: **Gerald Carmen**, former ambassador to UN in Geneva, takes over grassroots pro-**Reagan** lobbying group Citizens for America from founding chairman **Lew Lehrman**. Lehrman steps down to consider 1988 Senate run against **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**. . . . High Frontier, the pioneer SDI lobby, celebrated its fifth anniversary in Washington. **Caspar Weinberger**, **Arnaud de Borchgrave**, **Robert Jastrow**, **Phyllis Schlafly**, **Robert Heinlein** received awards. . . . Jamaican Prime Minister **Edward Seaga** came to Washington to meet friend Ronald Reagan in midst of troubles at home. Seaga, in deep economic distress, dropped recent municipal elections to **Michael Manley**, one-time buddy of **Fidel Castro** and **Maurice Bishop**. Seaga's problem: He "reneged" on promised free-market reforms, according to **Timothy Ashby** of Heritage Foundation. . . . After eight years of airline deregulation, 133 carriers have gone out of business. But airline employment hit record high in 1985, ticket prices fell 20 per cent over the last decade, bookings rose from 319 million to 410 million since 1984. "Airports," wrote **George Will**, "increasingly resemble bus terminals because air travel now is as accessible as bus travel."

Notes on the Open Society. There are an estimated 50,000 copiers in the USSR. When UPI bought a new machine, Soviet authorities removed its 25-year-old model, took it to a disposal unit, and put it in a compactor.

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THE WEEK

☐ When we hear the word "Lugar," we reach for our culture.

☐ Chief Justice William Rehnquist finally made it through the Senate and media crossfire. Sidney Blumenthal of the *Washington Post*, who is making it his life work to explain conservatism to the liberal world —that is, to explain it away—saw a portentous shift. "Reagan's warm persona" has convinced "the common man that conservatism is not the exclusive property of the rich and powerful. Will Rehnquist's regime of cold Realpolitik remove the benign image?" Scary music, please, *molto agitato*. Rehnquist's margin of victory in the Senate—65 to 33—was tight, as these things go, though hardly unprecedented. Half a century ago, Charles Evans Hughes—former associate justice, former governor of New York, former everything—got an equally harsh going-over from Senate "progressives," as they were then called. Hughes's principles and character were maligned; he was tarred with the record of a corrupt Administration (Hughes had been Harding's Secretary of State). Hughes passed, 52 to 26, and went on to lead the resistance to one of the greatest assaults on the Constitution in this century, FDR's court-packing plan. These days, assaults on the Constitution tend to come from the courts themselves; Chief Justice Rehnquist may render equally significant service. Meanwhile, no one could think of much bad to say about Associate Justice Antonin Scalia, though liberals will have many years—Scalia is fifty—to make up for it. Welcome to them both.

☐ In spite of its indignation over the seizing of Nicholas Daniloff, we note that the press has avoided using the word "terrorism" in connection with the episode, even though the Soviets' intention surely included the desire to terrify the Western press. *Pourquoi?* Presumably the word "terrorism" is reserved for more unconventional fear tactics, especially in the Middle East or Ireland. The desire to treat this ugly Soviet move as a more or less normal part of superpower relations was evident in media coverage of the negotiations—as when, for instance, it was reported that "both sides" were "working to resolve the problem." By implication, Daniloff's kidnapping was the work of impersonal forces; nobody's fault; big misunderstanding.

☐ *Time* has run a spread on the new "advocacy tanks" in Washington and elsewhere—think-tanks that also market their ideas among politicians and journalists. King of them all is the Heritage Foundation, with a $12-million budget and close ties to the Reagan Administration. Most of these organizations are conservative: Heritage, the Manhattan Institute, the Hoover Institution, the Shavano Institute. Equally important, they provide perches for young conservative talent that can be drawn on to staff the federal bureaucracies. One of Richard Nixon's problems, when he wanted to fill agencies with something other than liberals and careerists, was that he couldn't. That's no problem for Ronald Reagan. The capital is bursting with bright young Tories. Our, er, godchildren! ! !

☐ Here we go again. *Newswatch*, the new and sprightly monthly publication of the National Conservative Foundation, went to Nexis, the print data retrieval system, and asked it to spit out every mention of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and of Common Cause in *Time* and *Newsweek* between January 1980 and June 1986. NCPAC is conservative, Common Cause liberal. During those six and a half years, *Newsweek* and *Time* mentioned Common Cause 24 and 21 times, respectively, but apparently felt it unnecessary ever to label it ideologically, so well known and respectable is it. NCPAC fared less well. In its 21 mentions in *Newsweek* NCPAC was targeted ideologically 71 per cent of the time; in *Time*, 82 per cent of the time in 17 mentions. But the word "conservative" was seldom if

The Wild Blue Yonder

Not since Lindy's lonesome flight
Have so many prayed at night,
Rubbed a rabbit's foot for luck
Or been more inclined to duck
As constituents who fear
Tax reform could strip a gear.

W. H. VON DREELE

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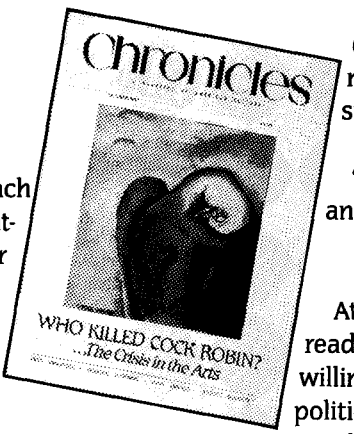

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Chronicles A Magazine of American Culture

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ever used. NCPAC and its staff were described as the "bad boy of American politics," as "far-right," as "negative nabobs," as an "alien extremist group," as "political terrorists," as "political commandos," as "quick-trigger ideologues." In these parts, pard'ner, we call that shooting from the hip.

☐ Ron Crutcher is running for Congress in Dayton, Ohio. He's a black conservative Republican who's trying to unseat a white liberal Democrat, four-termer Tony Hall. But the *Wall Street Journal* reports that Crutcher has been able to raise only $20,520—about a tenth of Hall's war chest. What's more, he's not getting help from other Republicans. Too bad. The GOP keeps talking about reaching out to blacks, but, as the *Journal* points out, there hasn't been a black Republican in either house of Congress since Edward Brooke lost his Senate seat in 1978.

☐ Almost silently, informed opinion is swinging in favor of SDI. Until recently, for example, the *New York Times* routinely opposed it. However, on August 24, its magazine section published a very positive article on technological developments in SDI. On September 28, the *Times* editorially criticized congressional moves to ban nuclear testing: "Nuclear tests are necessary for development of the nuclear-pumped X-ray laser, one of Star Wars' most promising components." Italy, England, West Germany, Israel, and, now, Japan are joining in the SDI technology. Gorbachev's desire to block this development may well be an exercise in futility, but keep the pressure on.

☐ Having persuaded himself that the shooting down of KAL 007 was provoked by Reagan, Alexander Cockburn, Alvarez del Vayo Professor of Disinformation at *The Nation*, has now turned his gaze to the Western Hemisphere, and begun attacking the heroic Armando Valladares as "a police officer in the Batista regime." In recent issues of *The Nation*, Cockburn has elaborated the Havana line that the author of *Against All Hope* deserved his fate because he was really a Batista spy. Valladares has challenged the "evidence," furnished to Cockburn by Castro's Big Lie Factory, as obvious forgery. It includes inaccurate information about Valladares's personal history and even his physical characteristics. Ironically, Valladares was working in the Ministry of Communications under Castro when he was arrested and sent off to be tortured for 22 years, to the apparent glee of Alexander Cockburn.

☐ It was only billed as a speech, but it was the stuff of which great drama is made: *Corazon Aquino Goes to Washington*. Watch while a gaggle of cynical solons melt under the influence of the spunky, idealistic lady in yellow: After the speech, legislators began falling all over themselves to grant aid to the Philippines, over and above the $320 million in foreign aid the U.S. had already allocated for this year. The same House of Representatives that earlier this year erected trade barriers that may cost the Philippines billions of dollars in exports approved an extra $200 million in economic aid, making Mrs. Aquino the most highly paid speaker in history. Mrs. Aquino, for her part, refused to commit herself to maintaining U.S. bases in the Philippines when the lease runs out in 1991, saying only that negotiations on the issue will begin in 1988. U.S. bases in the Philippines are important for both American and Filipino national security. Let's tie down an agreement and secure those bases. There's nothing wrong with throwing in a little cash to sweeten the pot, but for heaven's sake don't let a sweet-talking little lady walk off with the loot before the deal is done.

Pat Robertson's Korean Glitch

His bio says he hit the beach,
  But something hit the fan
When buddies recently revealed
  He jumped ship in Japan.
From there, the story goes, he phoned
  The senator, his dad,
Who got him posted toward the rear,
  Which, bio-wise, looks bad.

W. H. von Dreele

☐ Israel seized the West Bank in 1967 during the Six-Day War and has governed it ever since. That means, among other things, that Israel has governed the area for exactly half of the period of Israel's modern existence. The West Bank is inhabited by Arabs hostile to Israel who seem to regard Yasir Arafat as their leader, and by Israeli settlers who are not about to leave. It is difficult to imagine how the West Bank Arabs could be assimilated culturally and politically into the Jewish state. It is also difficult to imagine circumstances under which Israel would turn the West Bank over to hostile administration, allowing it to become a military staging area pointed at the narrow waist of the state of Israel. This may be one of those problems that merely have to be lived with, and died with. If someone has suggested sanctions against Israel, it has not come to our attention.

☐ Sanctions, pfui. Mr. Qaddafi offers arms to the terrorists in South Africa, and if we consider this terrorism, "to hell with America." Nonviolent types on the campuses are going to love it.

☐ The Sandinista Supreme Court has ruled that the Sandinista regime acted lawfully and properly in shutting down *La Prensa*, the only remaining un-

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

AFTER THE GRILLING of Chief Justice William Rehnquist, some here are predicting an even more activist role for the hyped-up Senate Judiciary Committee Democrats, notably Joe Biden, whose histrionics impressed even his well-wishers as cheap shooting. Rehnquist supporters were dismayed by the voltage of the performance, which Republican committee member Orrin Hatch dubbed a "Rehnquisition."

Insiders are now saying that the hearings are only a warmup for the Rehnquisitors. "The Judiciary Committee will be used as a fulcrum to shift the national debate and make Reagan look at odds with the Constitution and the country," says a legal scholar. "The Judiciary liberals will be obstructionist, especially with conservative nominees for federal judgeships."

If the Democrats win back the Senate in November and regain their committee chairmanships, there will be even worse times ahead for Mr. Reagan and his Administration. Biden, the conservatives' worst horsefly, will get the Judiciary chairmanship. (Senior committee member Edward Kennedy is expected to stay with Labor and Human Resources and assume that chairmanship if the Democrats take over.) "You can forget about Reagan getting another conservative Supreme Court Justice," says a veteran political analyst. "If Meese were nominated, he'd be put through the grinder."

Some Congress-watchers reject this scenario, saying that Democrats like Biden wounded themselves so badly with their vituperative Rehnquisition that they learned their lesson. "Their sarcastic smirks didn't play well in the country," says a Republican staffer. "Biden's mean-spirited attitudinizing against a Supreme Court Justice shocked the public, and hurt himself and his party."

Not all agree. "Biden got his first big national exposure at the hearings, and in six months, people will forget the ugly rhetoric," says a conservative newsletter publisher. "But they'll remember Joe Biden's name and pay attention the next time they hear it."

"We are like addicts," says a Bolivian diplomat, referring to the economic dependence of his nation on drug revenues disrupted by this summer's U.S. raids on drug producers there. "The money made from drugs has to be withdrawn very slowly." In July, the U.S. sent six Black Hawk helicopters and 160 men to the Beni region of Bolivia to wipe out drug middlemen and refiners. The joint operation ("Operation Blast Furnace") marked the first time the U.S. military has been deployed to fight narcotics trafficking at its source. The Bolivians are grateful for the U.S. help but are jittery about the economic dislocations. Oil and tin are Bolivia's most valuable legal exports, and prices for both are plunging. On the illegal-export side, Bolivia supplies half the cocaine imported to the U.S. and Europe, and that shadow industry brings the impoverished, landlocked country $600 million a year, which seeps into every remote pocket of the local infrastructure.

How successful has the U.S. plan been? "The cocaine trade has diminished substantially," says a State Department official. "If the pressure is kept up, we can cut the legs off these dealers." Bolivian sources agree. "When the U.S. came, I think the traffickers were shocked to discover that we meant business—finally," says a top Bolivian official here. Drug experts hail the U.S. operation, too, but are quick to note that one strike is not enough. "Obviously, if we only hit once, they're going to recover," says a think-tank analyst.

Despite economic hardship, the bullet-biting Bolivians will ask the U.S. back after the operation is over in November. "The drug lords would laugh at us if the Americans went home for good," says another high-ranking Bolivian official. "They would think we were bluffing."

To make matters worse, it isn't only economically that drug-producing countries are hooked. Government officials are now battling drug epidemics among the country's youth, who are especially plagued by a crude and dangerous cocaine-based substance called *bazuco*. "Drug abuse is now their problem too," says a Washington law-enforcement official. "We'll get a lot more invitations to help because of it."

Washington politics on the drug issue are polarizing between supply and demand, conservative and liberal. Not unexpectedly, conservatives are the supply-siders, meaning that they blame foreign drug suppliers principally and want to expunge those traffickers by force. Liberals, typically, blame Americans first, saying that our sick domestic demand is what should be addressed.

What ever happened to Otis Bowen? Is his Department (Health and Human Services), with the biggest share of the federal budget ($334 billion for FY '86), becoming as invisible as, say, Sam Pierce's HUD? That's the late-summer patio chuckle for Washington idlers.

—CATO

Sandinista newspaper in Nicaragua, reports *Barricada*, the organ of the Sandinistas. The book-burners and censors march on, and we'll bet there is not a whisper of protest from Lou Grant.

☐ Kudos to *Reader's Digest* for a full-page ad in the September 23 *New York Times* featuring an excerpt from a piece in the October *RD* entitled "Famine Aid: Were We Duped?" We sure were, as French doctor Rony Brauman has the courage to note in his chronicle of how Colonel Mengistu is using foreign aid to lure starving villagers into forced-labor camps. The donations are merely bait in a trap, an extra lever for Mengistu to use in his "forced resettlement" program, which is his ongoing attempt to suppress anti-government sentiment in the northern province of Eritrea by relocating rebels to the south. Eritrea was hardest hit by the much publicized drought that began in 1982, but Brauman reveals that, in retrospect, the "famous drought proved to be something of a false issue." That's why Ethiopia remains the only country in the region still demanding aid, though the drought ended long ago. So if you thought you could sing "We Are the World" and transcend Mengistu's Marx-

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ism, think again. And to top it off, Brauman reports that the UN's resident representative in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa refuses even to recognize the existence of the hardly camouflaged resettlement-at-gunpoint. Nevertheless, these population shifts alone, not counting deliberate starvation in the north, have left an estimated hundred thousand victims in their wake.

☐ After many years of debate, Congress has made the rose our national flower. Please—if you value your life, liberty, and property—say only, Yea, yea! or Nay, nay! to the decision, and do not *under any circumstances* think, suggest, imply, or hint that Congress has anything better to do.

☐ In the long run, the Keynesians are all dead.

☐ Two of the following people may go to jail: John Zaccaro, Geraldine Ferraro, John Zaccaro Jr., Francis X. Smith. It's all in de fambly.

On to the Summit

THE SWEETHEART DEAL that led to the release of Nicholas Daniloff made it clear that the momentum that had been building toward a U.S.-Soviet Summit meeting was virtually unstoppable. That anything associated with the Daniloff case—even its resolution—should be interpreted as paving the way for a Summit meeting only shows how far the Reagan Administration has been seen to have descended into the abyss of political expediency in its dealings with the Soviet Union. The Administration has now got what it wanted.

Having framed, arrested, incarcerated, intimidated, threatened, and physically mistreated an innocent American journalist, the men in the Kremlin then generously allowed the United States to entreat, plead, promise, cajole, and beg for his release. They demonstrated, no doubt to the delight of the inner sanctum of the Politburo, that Washington is willing to dance for its Summit. They also demonstrated quite forcefully that the United States cannot prosecute Soviet employees at the United Nations for blatant espionage; the most we will dare do in the future is expel them.

As if this were not enough, Mikhail Gorbachev publicly denounced Daniloff as a spy one day after receiving official assurances from President Reagan that such was not the case. (As if official assurances were needed to remind the Soviet leadership of what it knew perfectly well.) Gorbachev was saying, in effect: You, Mr. President are a liar, but I am willing to meet with you nonetheless, provided you behave.

Treatment like this is what the United States can be said to merit in exchange for offering subsidized wheat to the Soviet Union. Gorbachev recognizes plainly when an American President is manipulated by political pressures, and he knows how to exploit such a weakness.

So, on to Iceland. Ronald Reagan's entire career gives assurance that he will not deal lightly with SDI and other arms-control matters, but some of those around him will probably be carrying umbrellas. We shall see. Those who know him cannot believe that appeasement is what Ronald Reagan intends to accomplish.

A True Tax Reform

THE NEW TAX-REFORM LAW signed last month by President Reagan is hardly perfect. By restricting the use of Individual Retirement Accounts and other tax-deferred savings accounts, it will discourage saving. And by repealing the investment tax credit and stretching depreciation schedules for investment, it will reduce investment. But these imperfections are more than offset by the sharp reductions in marginal tax rates, both individual and corporate. For individuals, the top rate will fall from 50 per cent to 33 per cent; for corporations, from 46 to 34. The drop in the top individual rate continues a trend that began with the tax cut of 1964, when the top rate was a whopping 91 per cent; it was reduced to 70 per cent under President Johnson and to 50 per cent in President Reagan's first term. In 1988, it will fall to 33 per cent.

This trend away from steep progressivity is healthy. Americans will be able to keep a much greater fraction of increases in their earnings. They will have incentives to work harder and to invest less in tax shelters.

Most of the news media have concluded that the main gainers from tax reform are the poor and the middle-income taxpayers. They reach this conclusion by showing that taxes on these groups will fall by a higher percentage than taxes on the well-to-do. But what the media ignore is the money that upper-income groups will save by not having to invest in tax shelters.

For example, people in high tax brackets who buy tax-free municipal bonds earn a lower interest rate than if they had bought Treasury bills or corporate bonds. Thus, their gain from buying municipals is much less than the tax they save. Similarly, the tax advantages for real estate artificially encourage investment in it. This drives rents lower, offsetting the tax advantage. Sure, upper-income people avoid taxes. But only by paying "taxes" to municipalities and to renters. The tax-reform bill substantially lowers these "taxes." Make no mistake about it. The big gainers from tax reform are the well-to-do.

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And rightly so. Because the primary virtue of the reduction in progressivity is not its healthy economic effects. The primary virtue is a more just tax system.

Proponents of progressivity often argue that higher-income people should pay higher taxes because they benefit more from government. For example, they benefit more from national defense—they have more to defend. But with a flat tax, higher-income people still pay more taxes than lower-income people. Progressivity forces them to pay, not just more of their income in taxes, but also a higher fraction. This is unjust. The tax bill reduces this injustice.

How permanent is the new tax law? Unfortunately, not very, if Milton Friedman is correct. He argues that politicians on the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees get increased campaign contributions whenever they put loopholes and tax shelters in the tax code. The tax code had been shot so full of holes in the last twenty years that the politicians were running out of options for further loopholes. Therefore, he says, their self-interest lay in getting rid of loopholes and starting all over.

But Congress's ability to tinker is more limited now. In the 1960s and 1970s, Congress could expand loopholes without worrying about revenue losses, because it could count on inflation to place people in higher tax brackets. But no longer. Our tax brackets are now indexed to inflation. Now, if Congress is to pay for loopholes with higher tax rates, it must do so by explicitly legislating those higher rates. And not since 1940 has it raised tax rates in peacetime.

Mr. Kirk, Meet Mr. Voegelin

THE DEMOCRATIC National Committee, led by Paul Kirk, has brought forth a new set of principles, as sensible as they are badly needed. The committee decided to fight Reaganism with Reaganism—denouncing the Soviet "empire," celebrating the family, and reaffirming private enterprise. No abortion, no gay rights.

Whereupon regular Democrats went to the primaries and elected every wacko lib in sight—Mark Green and Bella Abzug in New York, Barbara Mikulski in Maryland, Bob Edgar in Pennsylvania, and Wyche Fowler (over Hamilton Jördan) in Georgia. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is indeed weak.

The professionals know what it takes to win elections—but they are finding out that this is entirely different from what it takes to win Democratic primaries, where the true believers still pour out to vote for good McGovernment. The gnostics of the ballot box aren't interested in prudent leadership from Paul Kirk. The National Committee's policy statement has about as much meaning as a whistle in a hurricane. It might make a passable Republican platform, though.

Not So Mysterious Japan

They all speak Japanese, which helps;
  They sing the same old songs.
At school, historians finesse
  The same unpleasant wrongs.
Their emperor has been the same
  Since Mae West waved a fan,
And when we wake up, we'll be in
  The same strategic plan.

W. H. VON DREELE

South Africa: Okay, Now What?

ON SOUTH AFRICA, about the only thing left to say is that the congressmen and senators who voted for sanctions lack strategic vision. Their votes were political freebies: You do not get politically penalized if you vote for sanctions; you might be penalized by blacks and liberals if you voted against them.

South Africa is an anthropologist's delight. A modern, white population sits atop a larger black, Third World population, with a substantial Asiatic minority thrown in. If the demagogues in Congress who voted for sanctions have a plausible idea of what would happen after the whites were toppled, we have not heard about it. Were they really voting for turning the country over to the ANC? They were not saying. The President's veto of sanctions was admirable, a breath of fresh air.

Everyone knows that South Africa is important because of its geography and natural resources. But the regime is also backing Jonas Savimbi and UNITA in their struggle in Communist-run Angola. There are many harsher regimes in the world than South Africa's, many of them on the African continent. The vote for sanctions by an overwhelming margin was not the finest hour for representative government.

Razing Kean

IN NEW JERSEY, the other politician being talked about for President is Governor Tom Kean. After squeaking by with just 1,700 votes to spare in 1981, he ran up a record margin last fall, trouncing his Democratic opponent and garnering scads of black votes. He talks economics like Jack Kemp. Unfortunately, he governs like Mario Cuomo. Lately, Kean has been traveling to national Republican gatherings, ostensibly as a noncandidate for higher office, urging

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regulars to "broaden the base of the party." The new initiatives he promotes for attracting traditionally Democratic constituencies are fairly traditional themselves: abortion, higher taxes, affirmative action, no school prayer, disinvestment, etc.

One crucial area of activism has been the New Jersey courts, among the most skewed in the nation. Kean has proudly appointed record numbers of blacks and women, uniformly liberal. His recent reappointment of leftist Supreme Court Chief Justice Robert Wilentz was particularly bad. Wilentz, who was nominated to the bench by former Governor Brendan Byrne, has presided over judicial chaos since 1979. His reappointment means he can sit on the Court until he is seventy, another 11 years. Several Republican state senators objected to the Wilentz renomination; one invoked senatorial courtesy to block the move. Courtesy was stripped by an arrogant Democratic majority, with the acquiescence of the governor.

The threat to conservative dominance in the Republican Party will not come from outcast nuisances like Lowell Weicker, but rather from those, like Governor Kean, who masquerade as moderates. Kean harks back to the Republican me-tooism of a decade ago. In New Jersey, he is personally unassailable; his tenure has seen an enormous affirmation of pride among the state's populace. But his prescriptions deserve resistance nationally. Governor Kean, someone *is* watching you.

Taxing Unemployment Benefits

REMEMBER THE brouhaha at Thanksgiving time, 1982, when the Reagan Administration proposed treating unemployment-insurance payments as ordinary taxable income? At the time, the tax law treated unemployment benefits as taxable only for single people with adjusted gross income over $12,000 and married people with income over $18,000. After opponents of the measure argued that it was inhumane, the Administration shelved the idea.

Guess what? It's off the shelf. The new tax bill does just what the Administration wanted to do four years ago—treat all unemployment benefits as taxable income. Surprisingly, the measure received no attention, let alone significant opposition. Which is fortunate, because it is good economic policy.

First of all, it's fair. Why should someone who earns $10,000 and receives $2,000 in unemployment benefits pay lower taxes than someone who earns $12,000 and receives no unemployment benefits? The reform will eliminate that discriminatory treatment.

Second, taxing unemployment benefits will not hurt the poor. The tax bill relieves people at or near the poverty line from paying any income tax at all.

Third, it will reduce unemployment. People have less incentive to find or to accept a job when they know they will receive tax-free unemployment benefits. Gary Solon, an economist at the University of Michigan, found that when higher-income unemployed people were first subject to the tax in 1979, their average length of unemployment fell from 11 weeks to about 8.5 weeks. About half of this drop, he found, was a direct result of taxing benefits. Some back-of-the-envelope calculations show that if people who become subject to the tax today respond similarly, the unemployment rate could fall by about a tenth of a percentage point. Which means a permanent reduction of more than one hundred thousand in the number of unemployed Americans.

United Nations Report Card

HOW CAN YOU tell America's allies from its enemies? The answer is that you can't—at least not in the United Nations. Staunch "friends" of the United States routinely and nonchalantly oppose our UN initiatives, serene in the knowledge that their lack of support for America won't influence America's economic and military support for them.

The State Department has issued a report summarizing voting patterns in the UN during the 1985 session. The Warsaw Pact nations voted with us 13 per cent of the time. No surprise there. Nor is it shocking that African nations, most of whose experience with the democratic process is confined to the UN, supported America in only 15 per cent of all plenary votes. But why did the ASEAN nations, joined with the United States in a defense pact, vote with us only 19 per cent of the time? And why did we receive similarly lukewarm support from our friends in Central America and the Caribbean? Of them, only Grenada voted with the American delegation on a majority of issues. Saudi Arabia, that force for moderation in the Mideast, voted with us 14 per cent of the time; Israel remained our staunchest UN ally, with 92 per cent.

There are some distinctions to be made. It is understandable that Saudi Arabia might break with the U.S. over Arab issues. But why couldn't the Saudis, in exchange, among other things, for our AWACS, bring themselves to condemn chemical and bacteriological weapons? Or refrain from criticizing U.S. trade sanctions against Nicaragua?

The worst offender? Mozambique, which, according to the Heritage Foundation, received $55 million in U.S. aid in 1985 (as a reward for what the State Department calls its tilt to the West), and which voted with us only 6 per cent of the time. The State Department also compiled a special list of ten issues considered key U.S. interests. On these key issues, Mozambique sided with America exactly 0 per cent of the time.

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Daniloff Gambit

These grim statistics conceal some improvement. In 1973, only four countries (Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Israel) supported America at least half the time. In 1985, 19 countries did.

Many allies who have low records of overall support score much higher on the ten key issues. El Salvador, for example, voted with us on only 30 per cent of all votes, but voted with us on 80 per cent of the key votes. That suggests that, when push comes to shove, our allies are willing to line up behind us. Maybe we should push a little harder.

Meanwhile, in Lebanon

FATHER Lawrence Martin Jenco spent 564 days in the coils of the Islamic Jihad. Once, when he was asked by his captors if there was anything he wanted, he responded, "Yes, a taxicab." He is free now, but at least three other Americans remain. One of them, David Jacobsen, director of the American University Hospital in Beirut, is shown on a seven-minute videotape that Father Jenco brought with him from the Bekaa Valley. Jacobsen pleads with the United States to negotiate his release and the release of his fellow captives. He urges the Reagan Administration to comply with the kidnappers' demands. He accuses President Reagan of being "subservient to a political principle that the United States will not negotiate with terrorists."

Jacobsen's voice is the most urgent among those who call for negotiation and capitulation. And from a man under that sort of duress, his plea is understandable. Unfortunately, to adopt the course he urges would simply cause Americans to be taken hostage elsewhere, should some radical group find them to be the appropriate means to an end. The Islamic Jihad has demanded the release of 17 brothers-in-arms, jailed in Kuwait for bombings at the American and French Embassies. Both the American and Kuwaiti governments have rightly refused to comply. One can only pray for the ultimate safety of Dr. Jacobsen, and renew efforts to locate his torturers.

Remember Wayne Dick

LAST SPRING, Yale sophomore Wayne Dick received a draconian sentence of two years' probation for putting up posters satirizing Yale's "Gay/Lesbian Awareness Days." At issue here was the currently sacred cultural status of homosexuality.

At his recent installation as Yale's new president, Benno Schmidt, an expert on the First Amendment, spoke very pointedly about freedom of expression. His remarks were widely interpreted in New Haven as applying to the Wayne Dick case.

This student, to Yale's credit, has picked up notable faculty support. Emeritus history professor C. Vann Woodward, who chaired the 1975 committee that drafted Yale's "University Regulations" regarding free speech, thinks that Yale, not Wayne Dick, is in violation of Yale's regulations. Guido Calabresi, dean of the Yale Law School, and law professor Elias Clark are backing the student's right, under Yale's regulations, to have his say.

President Schmidt no doubt knows that he is sitting on a ticking legal bomb. In recent years the courts have been holding that a university, as well as its students, is bound by its printed regulations. It is fairly well established that these are in the nature of a contract. In the Wayne Dick case, Yale appears to be

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in contractual violation and vulnerable to a law suit.

More broadly, the case involves what Margaret Anne Gallagher has called (see "Campus 1986," Sept. 26) the "tyranny of pity." In this syndrome, supposed victims acquire exceptional power. In the Wayne Dick case, the tyranny of pity enabled Yale homosexuals to abrogate not only Dick's constitutional rights but Yale's own contractual obligations to its student. This is an important case. Stay tuned.

No, No, Nakasone

YASUHIRO NAKASONE, Prime Minister of Japan, caused a predictable uproar when he observed that the average American intelligence has been lowered by the presence of racial minorities—specifically, "blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans." Just as predictably, his American critics retorted with defensive apostrophes to the wonders of pluralism.

Waiving the sensitive question of genetic differences, both sides have a point. Japan's racially monolithic society can boast of enormous achievements, and American diversity has its price. But Japan may also sacrifice originality to discipline and unity, while America seems to elicit a much wider range of talent from its population.

In any case, the U.S. is not about to surrender personal freedom to any racial policy based on utilitarian considerations. Liberty is a virtually sacred principle here. At the same time, the recent influx of immigrants—including hard-working, high-achieving Orientals—has given rise to reasonable anxieties about cultural centrifugalism, which are reflected in, for example, the movement to make English the official national language.

Even a society based on universal human rights needs the particularist vehicle of a shared language; universalism is an empty fiction without concrete civic unity. The less racial and religious unity, the more urgent it may be for citizens to have a language they can converse in. Even a nation needs intimacy.

The Hundred Years' War Against Judge Kaufman

IRVING KAUFMAN, the distinguished judge who presided more than thirty years ago over the trial that convicted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, continues to suffer harassment by ideologues who cannot bring the dead traitors back to life, but will settle for the next best thing, which is to make Judge Kaufman's life perpetually uncomfortable. To which end, a week or so ago, on an anniversary of something or other (the Rosenbergs' induction into the Communist Party?), they were handing out fliers in Foley Square to all and sundry, in the form of an "Open Letter" exposing the miscarriage of justice administered by Judge Kaufman.

In the modest words of the Rosenbergs, written before their execution in the summer of 1953, "History will record . . . that we were victims of the most monstrous frameup of our country [*sic*]." That monstrous frameup has been visited and revisited time and time again, without the detection of any reversible error by the judge. It is of no bearing whatever that the Supreme Court, twenty-odd years later, cast doubt on the right of Congress to pass laws committing to death Americans who pass along nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union.

The committee that adorns the letterhead of the group that harasses Judge Kaufman includes such legal powerhouses as Harry Belafonte, Julian Bond, Ossie Davis, David Dellinger, Norman Mailer, Kate Millett, Paul Robeson Jr., Pete Seeger, and Howard Zinn. A jury composed of such as they would have a hard time finding Josef Stalin guilty of double parking. So—okay, let them rant and rave: There is no law, and shouldn't be, against such behavior. But Irving Kaufman deserves a public hand for putting up with the travails of doing justice athwart the ill will of those who, neither equipped nor—who knows?—even motivated to pass along nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union, satisfy themselves with denigrating the judicial system of the Soviet Union's adversary.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I read with stark terror Bill Hardesty's letter ["Notes & Asides," July 18] concerning a "post-Ronald Reagan 'I wake up screaming' Administration." Please excuse some additional "humor macabre." A few addenda:

Secretary of the Interior—Barry Commoner (Ed Asner would be better suited for the position of Under Secretary of State for Latin America)
Under Secretary of State for Africa—Randall Robinson
Senate Minority Leader—Lowell Weicker
House Majority Leader—John Conyers
Coordinators, Supreme Court Nominations—Walter Mondale, Harold Washington
Director, Internal Revenue Service—John Kenneth Galbraith
Chief Arms-Control Negotiator—Helen Caldicott
Chairman, Consumer Products Safety Commission —Ralph Nader
Director, Food and Drug Administration—Timothy Leary

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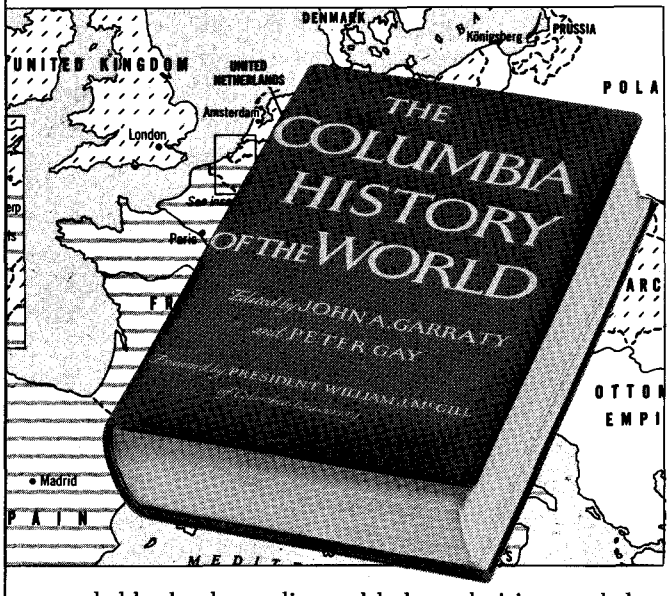

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Director, Federal Housing Administration—John Zaccaro
Director, Office of Technology Assessment—Carl Sagan
Civil Rights Commissioner—Louis Farrakhan
Chairperson, National Endowment for the Humanities—Madonna
Honorary Citizen of the United States—Nelson Mandela

Sleep well,
Douglas F. Newman
Tempe, Ariz.

Dear Mr. Newman: No, dammit. I decline to sleep well after reading your letter. Cordially, WFB

Dear Mr. Buckley:

A few weeks ago, Bill Hardesty of Sacramento wrote to you about the worst possible scenario regarding Ronnie's successor. This chilling prophecy has given me nightmares ever since. Fortunately, however, I am more optimistic than Mr. Hardesty:

President—Jack Kemp
Vice President—Phil Gramm
Speaker of the House—Charles Stenholm
Senate Majority Leader—Bill Armstrong
Secretary of State—Jeane Kirkpatrick
Secretary of the Treasury—Arthur Laffer
Secretary of Defense—Edward Luttwak
Attorney General—Brad Reynolds
Secretary of the Interior—George Deukmejian
Secretary of Commerce—Pierre du Pont
Secretary of Health and Human Services—The Council for a Black Economic Agenda
Secretary of Transportation—Richard Petty
Secretary of Agriculture—abolished
Secretary of Labor—abolished
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development—abolished
Secretary of Energy—abolished
Secretary of Education—abolished
UN Ambassador—Michael Novak
OMB Director—J. Peter Grace
Federal Reserve Chairman—Lew Lehrman

Sincerely,
Barry R. Kelley
Land of Goldwater

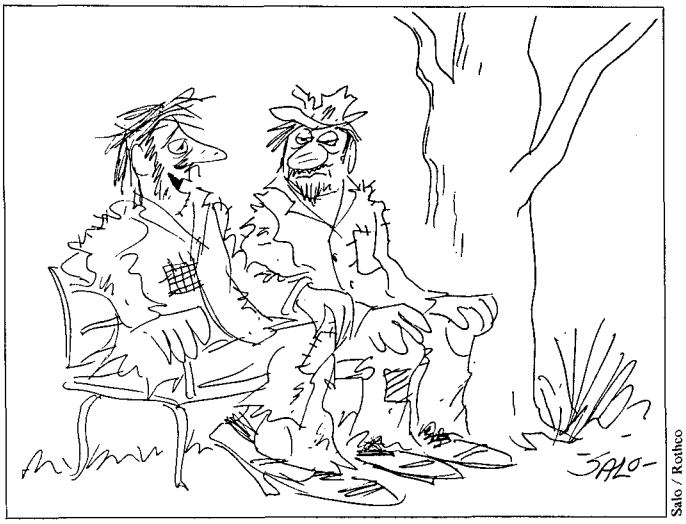
Dear Mr. Kelley: Count us in. But would you please add a Secretary for Postal Rates for Journals of Opinion—William Rusher? Thanks. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Horrible day! *NR*, July 4, "The Murder of SALT II," page 15, line 4—"whom" instead of "who." ["SALT II is dead. European governments and popular media throughout the world have convened a kangaroo tribunal to try and pillory the murderer, whom they all agree is the United States (who else?)."] "*O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.*" Should the cordial editor not?

Nell L. Galloway (Mrs. Ralph)
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Galloway: You missed the point! We were attempting to use grammatical counterparts for our geopolitical solecisms! Everybody else got it! Sadly,
WFB



Salo / Rothco

"I was bullish about the market and you were bearish—and here we are!"

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

As I was devouring the July 18 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, I ran into something that, well, gave me heartburn. That particular something appears on page 25, in an ad run by the National Education Association.

The ad reads, ". . . In over 128 years, that's never *waivered*."

Regards,
Robert Greeley
Huntington Beach, Calif.

Dear Mr. Greeley: We waive comment on the qualifications of the NEA to teach spelling to American children. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

If the United States Government adopts the policy of comparative worth, will the salaries of congressmen be reduced to those of ribbon clerks, or will the salaries of ribbon clerks be increased to those of congressmen?

Bill Zopf
Jacksonville, Ill.

Dear Mr. Zopf: We'll ponder that one. Cordially,
—WFB

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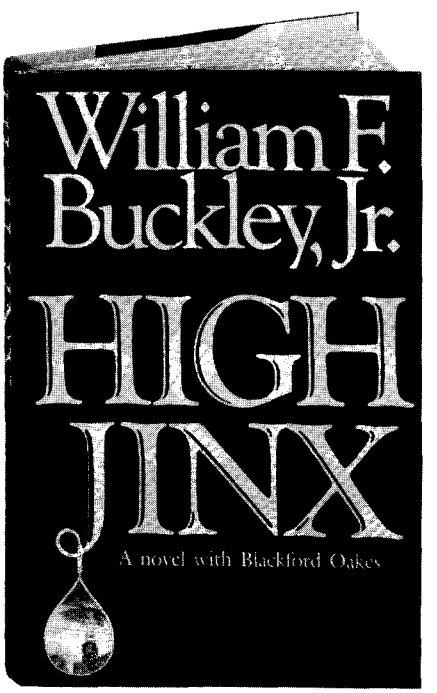
TREASON!

Each of the *five* separate landing parties in Operation Tirana (an attempt to liberate Red Albania) is ambushed. All the commandos are publicly hanged. There is only one explanation: Treason. Someone has penetrated the top-secret core of Anglo-American intelligence. There's a spook on the loose all right—a *super*spook, operating at the highest echelon of the British Government itself.

It's a tough puzzle for Blackford Oakes to solve. Then one day in London he spots a man who looks uncommonly like the executed commandos' *leader* (Oakes has seen pictures of the dead bodies). Blacky knows he's on to something.

You'll be on to something too from the moment you open *High Jinx*. This vastly entertaining tale of derring-do (the seventh in the Blackford Oakes series) is being called the best yet—and it may well be. It has everything: an exciting, suspenseful plot, deft characterizations, and some ingenious glimpses of the byzantine operations of the KGB ("From the corner of the room Nikita Khrushchev bounded forward. He drew a 9mm Makarov from his right jacket pocket, aimed it at Beria's head, and pulled the trigger.").

The tension builds as the noose tightens (be warned—you may not be able to put this one down!) until the blood-chilling, strangely appropriate finale. Simply put, this is wonderful change-of-pace reading. You'll thoroughly enjoy this newest Buckley spy thriller from start to finish.



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SUMMER BEING almost over, what Washington site is the biggest tourist draw? The stately Lincoln Memorial? The elegantly domed tribute to Jefferson? The severe and powerful Washington Monument? All are popular, scoring second, third, and fourth, respectively. The number-one attraction, however, is the dark, abstract, brooding Vietnam Veterans' Memorial. More than three million people visited the memorial last year, according to June statistics from the National Park Service. Some visitors walk slowly back and forth in front of the polished black granite walls, thin triangles stabbing into the earth. Others pause to reflect or place transfer paper over one of the 58,000 gold-inscribed names, charcoaling it to the paper surface. Others stoop to leave flowers or written remembrances, like poems.

The popularity of the memorial reveals that Americans have finally grown to accept a war that tore them apart only 15 years earlier, underscoring the nation's burgeoning love affair with the military. "In the immediate wake of Vietnam, we lamented over how bad we were," says a Hill defense expert. "Then came reflection, then forgiveness, now celebration."

Ronald Reagan reinforced this patriotic surge, of course—perhaps he initiated it—by the simple pride and honest exaltation of his public utterances and his public acts saluting the country, culminating July Fourth when he stood on the deck of the U.S. aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy* and paid homage to the Statue of Liberty on her one-hundredth birthday. U.S. military initiatives added direction and ballast to the patriotic drift, notably the 1983 liberation of Grenada and this spring's air strike against Libya. "People are pleased with the military, because it's winning and it's on the right side," says Kim Holmes, national security analyst at the Heritage Foundation. "The U.S. is the good guy again, and it makes everyone feel good." Hollywood has unfurled its flags, too, with films like *Top Gun*, *An Officer and a Gentleman*, *Red Dawn*, and, more crudely, *Rambo: First Blood Part II*, with soldiering portrayed as bigger than life.

The patriotic mood has boosted military recruitment and re-enlistment to unprecedented levels. "The facts speak for themselves," says Captain Harry Seymour, admissions officer at Annapolis's Naval Academy. "We're supposed to be in the middle of a demographic shrinkage of young men," he says, "but they're beating down the door to get here." The Academy expects 15,000 applications for 1,300 openings, a 35 per cent jump over the 9,500 in 1979.

All services taken together—Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines—more than 680,000 Americans want to join, and, because only 325,000 recruits are needed, the military can choose at a 2 to 1 ratio. Of the current 2.1 million men and women in the armed forces, 75 per cent want to stay for a career, with retention shooting up from a record low of 50 per cent in 1980. By 1987 Pentagon officials expect careerists in all services of the military to equal one-half, an all-time record for an all-volunteer force. (Recruits are smarter today, incidentally, with more than 90 per cent holding high-school diplomas, up from 67 per cent in 1980.) Patriotism is seen as the spark. "It's the key *x* factor," says Seymour. "I'm astounded at how much they want to serve their country. It's no curve ball, no smokescreen—they want to get in, they want to serve."

How long will it last? There's the rub. According to the Office of Management and Budget, of the $320 billion requested by President Reagan for the 1987 military budget, the House has recommended $280 billion, the Senate $290 billion. The deficit-obsessed Congress, exercised yet more by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, is not propelled by the same patriotism that moved Ronald Reagan to increase military salaries 41 per cent in the past five years. "The cutbacks are going to have a serious effect on American forces," says a top GOP aide on the House Armed Services Committee. "The popularity of the uniform isn't going hand in hand with the budget." Senator Gary Hart, of the Senate Armed Services Committee, says, "Congress and the American people are singing from a different hymn book. Patriotism doesn't translate into defense dollars."

DON'T EXPECT budget decreases to force military personnel out in droves, but they are likely to erode re-enlistment and recruitment advances. Pay increases will not be as sizable as in recent years. "It's the first thing that goes," says a veteran Democratic House Armed Services aide. Sam Nunn, the hawkish Georgian also on the Senate committee, concedes that "the deficit will surely squeeze and there won't be those perks and salary hikes that have made the military so attractive a career." Demographics show that the pool of young people eligible for military service is shrinking and will continue to do so through 1992. When that is combined with the shrinkage in perks and pay, recruitment and re-enlistment could ebb dramatically. "We've got to compete," says the Pentagon official.

Prospects on the Hill for more money are dim, as Congress looks to cut everywhere to tame the projected $230-billion 1987 deficit. "Americans want to spend less for defense," says Holmes about the troubling paradox. "They can't have it both ways. When people think of cutting the military budget, they think of hardware, not manpower. In some ways, manpower is more important, more far-reaching. Cut manpower and you cut pride, national pride." □

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BARGHOORN, DANILOFF, ET AL.

THE DANILOFF affair has not played itself out yet. Daniloff was, of course, "Barghoorned." The word —not yet included, to my knowledge, in the Oxford or Webster's—became a term of art in the international intelligence community in 1963, when the distinguished American professor Frederick C. Barghoorn was framed by the KGB in a precise forerunner of the framing of the Moscow correspondent of *U.S. News & World Report*. I am surprised that there has been so little reference to the earlier case, as it so clearly illustrates the evolution of Soviet social and political mores from Khrushchev to Gorbachev, via Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko; namely, zero.

Late on October 31, 1963, Professor Barghoorn, head of the department of Soviet Studies at Yale, had a roll of papers thrust into his hand by an unidentified young man in the street outside his hotel. Thereupon he was arrested for being in possession of the said papers.

The professor then simply disappeared. It was not until November 12 that the U.S. Embassy was informed. The next day, the ambassador, Mr. Foy Kohler, demanded his immediate release. Then as now, the President of the United States intervened. On the 14th, John F. Kennedy expressed "deep concern" about the unwarranted and unjustified arrest.

Held incommunicado for 16 days, Barghoorn was suddenly released on the 16th.

There are other aspects of the Barghoorn case of present relevance. Just before the arrest, Kennedy had approved the sale of $250 million worth of wheat to the Soviet Union, and a cultural convention was in the air. At his press conference, Kennedy threatened to postpone further negotiations and said the wheat deal could be in jeopardy.

Still, the story ended "happily" (although this could be a misuse of language). It was not until June 1, 1964 (imagine, more than a full half year) that a consular pact was signed between the United States and the USSR. It covered scientific and meteorological as well as cultural exchanges. There was a tiny plus in it for the U.S. side: Under Article XII, the Soviet government undertook to give three days' notice of the arrest and detention of any American national in the USSR and to allow consular access to the person detained within four days of arrest, and thereafter periodically. Nothing was said about framing a U.S. citizen. So, on the principle that what is not prohibited is legal, the KGB was acting properly when it detained Mr. Daniloff after he had been Barghoorned.

To incorrigible "détentists" (e.g., the *New York Times*), the arrest of Nicholas Daniloff is regrettable for a variety of alternative reasons: because it shows that the nice Mr. Gorbachev hasn't yet managed to bring the KGB to heel; or because this is an inexplicable lapse in a promising new reign; or because Gorbachev's position on the Politburo is insecure and he has enemies who want to embarrass him; or, to put it another way, because the hawks are in the ascendant again, and Gorbachev's doviness is at risk.

Alas, the least popular reason is the only valid one. Mikhail Gorbachev, former protégé of Yuri Andropov (you remember, the "closet liberal" who, in a fit of absentmindedness, institutionalized the psychiatric torture of dissidents), is the current product of the system, to which he owes his present eminence. He can fire as many old dunderheads as he likes: He can't change the system because he would lose his own raison d'être.

There is harmless fun and frustration in observing the current attempts to reinvent the wheel. Right now, many people are rediscovering aspects of the Soviet threat, including involvement in international terrorism. The French government, for instance, now gives encouraging signs of understanding this and related problems, though whether Prime Minister Jacques Chirac (or for that matter President Reagan) will ever tackle the main source (Moscow) or confine himself to relatively safe secondary sources, such as Libya, is problematical.

I created the Institute for the Study of Conflict in 1970 with the main object of exposing Soviet subversion worldwide. In March 1971, in an interview that I recall now because it appeared in Mr. Daniloff's present outlet, *U.S. News*, I dwelt at length on this complex problem. Shortly after that, I had a visit in my London office from a remarkable Frenchman, Maître Jean Violet, who for many years had been Special Advocate to the French secret service, the SDECE. A farsighted man, he predicted, accurately, that terrorism would be the main form of war in years to come.

SO, DO WE get a Summit, or don't we? And does it matter, either way? For that matter, if Gorbachev is really keen on a second Summit, did he think the framing and detention of an American citizen would help or hinder summitry?

The Soviet regime framed Daniloff because it doesn't like the way Mr. Reagan has been treating good, honest spies: arresting them, for instance, and reducing Soviet personnel at the UN. So Gorbachev was testing Mr. Reagan's nerve and his ambition to be seen by posterity as a man of peace. The deal of Nicholas Daniloff for Gennadi F. Zakharov suggests that the ambition is pretty strong, whether it is the President himself who has it, or those closest to him, who are urging him on. Either way, Mikhail Gorbachev has called the shots. □

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SUPPLY-SIDE -SQUABBLES-

• DAVID BROOKS

THE THING about supply-siders is that they don't get along. Jammed into their little movement is a dazzling array of zealots, geniuses, egotists, and malcontents. Robert Mundell, the intellectual godfather of the movement, is a longhaired professor with a passion for painting, eccentricity, and intellectual purity. Jude Wanniski, the so-called bomb-thrower, reported to his first job with Dow Jones & Company in a silver Buick Riviera convertible, wearing mirrored sunglasses and a gold lamé sports coat, with his wife, a former Las Vegas showgirl, in tow. Arthur Laffer is as charming and dazzling a man as you'd ever want to meet, but he's been known to lash out at his allies, most recently Jack Kemp. Paul Craig Roberts, probably not a man who goes around reciting Stevie Wonder lyrics, relates to people on "a purely intellectual basis," according to his closest friends. He is critical, downbeat, and driven. Supplement that group with George Gilder, Alan Reynolds, Norman Ture, Irving Kristol, Warren Brookes, Jack Kemp, Lew Lehrman, Robert Bartley, and others. "You are talking about people with egos, and people with egos don't get along with one another," says economic columnist Brookes. "But it takes a big ego to be a political figure, a thinker, and a leader."

It also takes competitive fire. These supply-siders are like intellectual entrepreneurs, competing for glory and influence, all the while acknowledging that the success of each creates more demand for the writings of the group.

"Basically, everyone thinks he invented supply side, and he hates all the others who think they were the one," says economic consultant and supply-side political ally John Rutledge. A lot of people do say they discovered the ideas. Robert Mundell and Art Laffer make a pretty good case, but then so does Philip Bradley, a Harvard economist nobody has heard of, who was writing supply-side-like monographs in 1943.

What Mundell and Laffer have that loners like Bradley did not have is the press. "I almost think that Art Laffer consciously modeled himself on Keynes's career," says supply-side journalist Peter Brimelow, a senior editor at *Forbes*. "People forget that Keynes himself was as much a journalist as anything else."

But Laffer's cause might still be unknown if it hadn't been adopted by an even more gifted journalist, Jude Wanniski. "Wanniski really seized the different elements of supply side and put them together, in much the same way Procter and Gamble packages a new kind of toothpaste," says Ned Scharff, author of *Worldly Power: The Making of the Wall Street Journal*. "Had that not happened there never would have been a supply-side movement." Wanniski himself talks about spending hours and hours at a New York bar arbitrating a series of debates between Mundell and Laffer on the shape of supply-side economics.

Wanniski did most of his work at the *Wall Street Journal* under the tutelage of another journalist/intellectual, Robert Bartley. Bartley encourages his individual writers to serve as point men on specific issues. Their job is to poke at controversial and unexplored bushes to see what comes out. Wanniski poked around the supply-side bush and eventually persuaded Bartley himself that the theories were genuine.

Supply side is largely a journalists' movement. "It is comparable to the 1848 revolution in France where all the major political parties were associated with magazines," says Brimelow. As I was interviewing people for this article, I was shocked to find a near consensus around the proposition that journalists and private consultants have more freedom than academics. "I've spent some years in the universities," says Rutledge, "and there what you do is 99.9 per cent determined by the editors of the major economic journals. If the five biggest economic journals don't want to publish work in a given field, you might as well pack up your tent."

"There's more of a danger of academics' following the crowd with the intent to do what's fashionable," says Northwestern's distinguished professor Jacob Eisner. "What is not fashionable doesn't get you very far."

In private consulting or in journalism, on the other hand, there is no small group of journal editors or elite department heads to determine what a person can publish. Edi-

Mr. Brooks is the film critic of the Washington Times *and a frequent* NR *contributor.*

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tors rarely censor journalists on fine economic points. In consulting, there are so many thousands of potential clients in the world that a consultant can pretty much say what he wants, and, as long as it yields results, he can still be assured of a niche in the marketplace.

So it was journalists, with the analytic support of private consultants, who were free to substantiate the original Mundellian supply-side insights. Characteristically, the movement's most recognizable feature is not an economic theorum, but a journalistic device—the Laffer curve. Jude Wanniski seized upon the Laffer curve as an easy way to communicate the fundamentals of incentive-based fiscal policies. The curve itself is about as innovative and remarkable as the sundial. Montesquieu knew that at certain points you could lower tax rates and increase revenues, as did Adam Smith, as did John Maynard Keynes. It is, as Herb Stein says, not true, but a truism.

Nevertheless, it struck short-memoried journalists and politicos with the novelty of revelation. Jeff Bell, who helped put supply side on the political map with his successful 1978 primary campaign against New Jersey Senator Clifford Case, says, "The Laffer curve was an important teaching tool for the electorate. It got us off the hook of having to propose a horrible list of spending cuts. In the stage before supply side we felt that in order to shrink the take of government we had to have big spending cuts to be 'responsible.' The Laffer curve got us beyond that pitfall."

The Laffer curve, with its suggestion of having your cake and eating it too (or of having your lunch for free), is an extremely optimistic concept. That optimism and the self-assurance with which supply-siders offer their policy proposals have become supply side's stylistic hallmark. That glib style angers many, including many academic supply-siders. They concede the value of optimism and self-confidence, but they are more concerned with what they say the movement lacks: economic rigor.

Norman Ture, the supply-sider who was Under Secretary of the Treasury for Tax and Economic Affairs during the first Reagan term, says, "Public attention has been focused upon supply side in terms of the so-called Laffer curve. The Laffer curve is certainly not a fundamental notion in supply-side economics. It is an interesting arithmetical observation with extraordinarily limited applicability in the real world. If that's what supply-side economics had to live or die by, it would have long ago had an inglorious decease."

Paul Craig Roberts, who was a supply-side mover and shaker in Congress in the Seventies and then under Ture in the Administration during the early Eighties, wrote in a recent NATIONAL REVIEW article ("The Great Tax Reform Debate," June 6):

> After the rhetorical debacles supply-siders have suffered in the past few years, the last thing the supply side needs is more mysticism on the part of those of its supporters who assert the primacy of psychology over economic analysis. The small cadre of journalists and newsletter writers who have set themselves up as the high-priest interpreters of supply-side economics make it difficult for economists who are held to professional standards to be associated with the movement. Somehow a school of economic thought that has no economists in it seems unpromising.

Ture and Roberts don't have much respect for their journalist allies. Ture on George Gilder: "He ought to sit down some day and get straightened out. The piece he did in NATIONAL REVIEW and the piece he did in the *Wall Street Journal* [on tax reform] are just utter fantasies. His problem is that he doesn't understand the rudimentary economics of supply side." And on Jude Wanniski: "Jude is such a flamboyant talker. I have never been convinced that he understood any of it. Some of the stuff he's produced has persuaded me that he is very much at sea."

Where the polemicists have had great impact, Ture and Roberts say, is on the academic community, where their "rhetorical excesses" have discredited the movement. The romance and sensationalism of the journalists ghettoized supply side, they say, giving the impression that supply-siders disdained the standard practices of academic economists.

Academics don't disguise their contempt for the supply-side movement, often dismissing it as economic laetrile. "I don't think there are any supply-siders that have much standing in the academic community," says Northwestern's Eisner, who typifies academic reaction. "They offered a curious kind of cover for things people wanted to do," he continues, explaining their policy impact. "There was a great desire to cut taxes in order to bring down the role of government. The supply-siders offered a curious rationale. Also, they offered a cover, I think rather reprehensibly, to people who are simply out to save taxes."

REACTIONS IN government circles are scarcely more sympathetic. There are two hundred economists in the Congressional Budget Office. Hundreds more are on the two budget committees and on the staffs of the fiscally influential congressmen. In the Administration—at OMB, at Treasury, at State—there are hundreds more. Of those hundreds or thousands you could count the number of self-proclaimed supply-siders without taking your shoes off. Paul Craig Roberts insists that the movement has been discredited in the eyes of the policymakers by the polemicists, just as it was for the academics. Roberts's book *The Supply-Side Revolution* contains episode after episode in which he claims supply-side journalists outside the halls of power interfered with the delicate back-room maneuverings that take place in the budget committees and in the Administration. If you can't persuade the people who have the power, Roberts argues, all the publicity in the world won't do you any good.

Though they often disagree with Roberts and Ture, Mundell and Laffer echo the concern for economic integrity. Neither Mundell nor Laffer is particularly happy about the supply-side journalists' tendency to ridicule the economic community. "I've never been anti-establishment in any way, shape, or form," Laffer told me. "In the beginning stages," Laffer recalls, "there weren't too many establishment people who would associate themselves with someone like me. The groups I had come around me were basically malcontents and deviates. Basically anti-establishment . . . Jude Wanniski I would put exactly in that category."

Laffer faults Wanniski for opening up the movement to unreliables. "Jude is willing to back a friend no matter what the friend does on issues," he said. "Jude was always looking to aggrandize the movement. He got a lot of winners, but he also got a lot of losers, who have become major problems."

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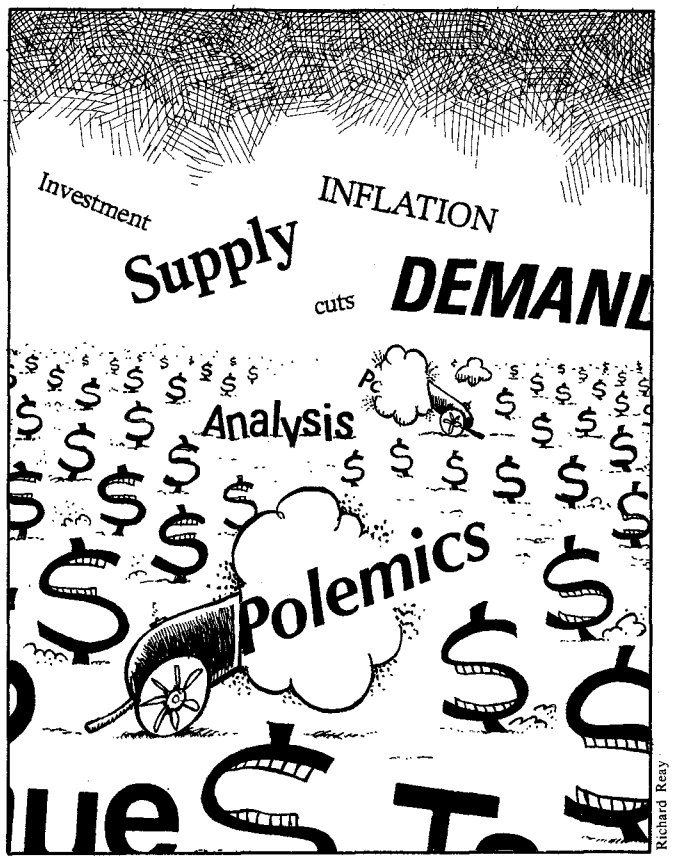

Meanwhile, Bob Mundell, who, as editor of the *Journal of Political Economy*, was in the very belly of prestige economics, is said to have excommunicated all but a handful of supply-siders from the movement for deviationism.

Supply-side journalist Warren Brookes, whose columns reflect a profound respect for "the numbers," is not hostile to the polemicists. But he acknowledges that for many supply-siders, notably George Gilder, idealism has overtaken economics. In many ways, Brookes's version of supply side is very close to Gilder's but he notes that "George tends to be somewhat romantic because George is not an economist. George is a romantically gifted polemicist. He has seized upon supply-side economics because it emphasized the individual . . . One of the reasons I don't do what George does is that I don't like to write something unless I can prove it. You won't find me philosophizing on issues if I haven't done enough hard-number analysis."

The danger, of course, is that the polemicists, with their limited expertise, will turn into economic versions of political pilgrims, the naïfs who spent a week or two in Stalin's Russia or Castro's Cuba and came back reporting a workers' paradise. They will sacrifice reality to their ideals, they will mix nonsense with doctrine, they will alienate competent professionals, they will make fools of themselves and their movement, and they will behave as if establishment economists have forfeited their right to have a say in the fiscal policy of this country. These are the fears that plague Roberts and Ture, and, to a lesser extent, Laffer and Mundell.

"What I find really frustrating," Roberts says of non-economist supply-siders, "is the idea that facts, professionals, and science just don't matter. This is absurd. This is a form of egotism that is unimaginable . . . Gilder took the position that supply-side economics built on facts and analysis implied insufficient faith. Well, they're going to have to call it supply-side religion. The economists are just going to walk away."

One way to understand the trajectory of the supply-side movement is to read a book published in 1962 by Thomas Kuhn: *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. In that short essay Kuhn argues that science has moved forward from one revolution to the next, not along a single evolutionary learning process.

Most scientists, he writes, are narrow broom-pushers, people who confine their work to the conceptual framework, or paradigm, they were taught in graduate school. For the sake of scientific rigor, they are trained to think in small steps, with equivocations marking each advance. "We often hear," Kuhn writes,

> that [scientific advances] are found by examining measurements undertaken for their own sake, and without theoretical commitment. But history offers no support for so excessively Baconian a method . . . In fact, so general and close is the relationship between qualitative paradigm and quantitative law that, since Galileo, such laws have often been correctly guessed with the aid of a paradigm years before apparatus could be designed for their experimental determination.

In other words, science moves forward when some rare, semi-responsible genius comes up with a wholly new way of approaching a field. The professionals in that field at first reject that notion. Then they suffer a crisis in confidence, as their own explanations fail. Then, slowly, in their particularist fashion, they adopt bits of the new paradigm until, through experimentation, they confirm the principles that the mad visionary asserted theoretically decades before. Once that is accomplished, the new paradigm is accepted.

Adam Smith provided economics with its first paradigm in 1776, overturning medieval prejudices about "just wages" and the evils of charging interest on loans. Because Smith offered a comprehensive, rigorous way to view the marketplace, today's economists don't have the "Am I a scientist?" insecurities that plague other social scientists.

Ture and Roberts seem to be pretty satisfied with Smith's paradigm as it is now understood. "People are beginning to understand that supply side doesn't warrant being called a separate school of thought," Ture says. "I call myself a supply-sider just for convenience. I'd rather be called something else. I haven't come up with an equally facile phrase."

Supply side's contribution, Ture argues, is that it shows how price theory applies to modern institutions: "The distinguishing attribute of supply side," he says, "is this: The first order effect of any government action is on relative prices. Those changes in relative prices result in changes in the way people allocate their resources. The consequence of that may be a change in the aggregate income [i.e., the wealth produced by a society]. If there is a change in aggregate income as a second order effect, it is likely to be powerful."

In other words government actions—lowering investment tax rates, for instance—alter the relative attractions of various activities; in this case, reducing the cost of investing relative to the cost of buying a Porsche, because lower taxes let you keep more of the rewards of your investment.

This view doesn't involve any dramatic paradigm shift.

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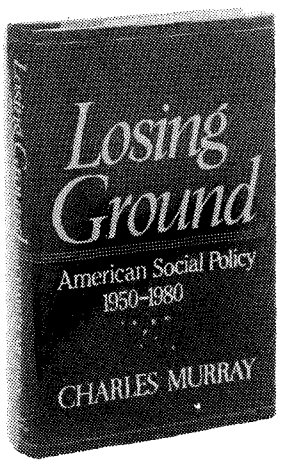
If Ture and Roberts had been the major spokesmen for supply side, they would have upset only hard-core Keynesians, and supply side would not have been scorned as it is today.

But Ture and Roberts do not lead the movement: By their own testimony if they had there wouldn't have been a movement. For all that the academics deride him, Jude Wanniski has been far more influential. On a theoretical level, Wanniski's version of supply side was a radical break with at least the recent past. With its emphasis on microeconomics and its faith in the efficiency of markets, Wanniski's book, *The Way the World Works*, the first important supply-side treatise, tried to restore the supremacy of Smith's paradigm. For Wanniski, modern attempts—whether Keynesian or monetarist—to stimulate or even regulate the economy by manipulating the quantity or value of money (aggregate demand to Keynes) require us to believe in the ignorance or irrationality of the individuals who make up the market. (Keynesians, for instance, advocate inflating the dollar during a recession, because they believe that, for a while at least, workers will thus be earning cheaper dollars for the same work, producing more for less, consequently increasing exports and causing the economy to grow.)

With Smith, Wanniski denies that individuals can easily be tricked into acting against their own self-interest in order to serve the general good. Therefore, like Smith, he argues that the essential goal is to foster genuine, rather than illusory, incentives for hard work and productivity. Thus the emphasis on low tax and tariff rates and other incentives. Wanniski wrote in *Business Week* in 1984 that "supply-side economics is simply nineteenth-century classical theory updated to cope with modern central banking and progressive tax systems." Because Wanniski saw himself as the restorer of the lapsed faith, Robert Bartley could call supply side "the lost continent of economics."

Wanniski's approach was necessarily less quantitative and more philosophical than that of most contemporary economists. In an economic theory that emphasizes the average effect of individual incentives, human nature plays a somewhat more important part than do statistical representations of the economy in gross. Many, perhaps most, supply-siders would argue that under the influence of Keynesianism and its endlessly complex and ultimately useless econometric models, economic broom-pushers drifted away from an appreciation of the true sources of wealth and the fundamental principles of the classical paradigm. "There was a peculiar moment in academic discourse in the late Seventies which we now forget because of the Reagan Revolution," says Peter Brimelow. "People really lost sight of elementary things about supply and demand."

Some supply-siders, notably Gilder and Brookes, push the tendency to think about economics philosophically even further, to the point of overthrowing Smith's paradigm rather than restoring it. Supply side derives its name from Say's Law, "Supply creates its own demand," formulated



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LOSING GROUND

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by the eighteenth-century French economist Jean Baptiste Say. For nearly all supply-siders, accepting Say's Law means, at a minimum, rejecting the Keynesian notion that demand (which Keynes equated with money) needs to be managed. For Say demand is a function of human nature and is essentially infinite. Human beings will take whatever they can get. But for many supply-siders Say and his law mean somewhat more than that; Say is a symbol for an approach to economics that makes man the master of the market rather than its unknowing helpmate.

Over the past two centuries, Warren Brookes notes in *The Economy in Mind*, Western economics has been divided over two views of wealth. The view of mainstream contemporary macro-economics, as well as of Malthus and Marx, is that the source of wealth is physical: money, structures, natural resources, capital: in short, finite things. The opposing view, which Brookes dates back to Say, is that the source of wealth is metaphysical, comprised of ideas, imagination, accumulated knowledge, ambition, creative drive, and other non-quantifiable human attributes. Wealth depends ultimately upon the inspiration that perceives a need (that is, senses the shape of demand more accurately) and transforms some previously useless or less valuable resource into the fulfillment of that need. Brookes quotes St. Paul: "Through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of the things that do appear."

THE RADICAL, or metaphysical, supply-siders hold to Say's view with a vengeance. For them wealth is largely determined by a man's state of mind. Men are not fungible. Two people starting with equal resources, and even more importantly with equal incentives, are not equally wealthy because one of these people may be willing to work 16 hours a day while the other is not; one may be willing to stake all his wealth and reputation on his own ideas and ability while the other may not; one of them may invent a new process or a new product while the other will not.

It is on this point that Gilder argues that supply side creates a new paradigm rather than restores Smith's. At the core of Smith's work Gilder finds a problem. Smith's famous invisible hand doesn't exist.

The invisible-hand theory of Adam Smith holds that capitalists are like water, which flows wherever gravity takes it. If there is a need for a new kind of razor, one or more capitalists will flow into the razor business. If there is a need for a diet version of Coke, a company will flow into that market. At the bottom of this idea is a disdain for capitalists as greedy, cautious calculators who do no more than follow the market where it leads, doing immense good for society but only as an accidental result of the cold pursuit of their self-interest. In the view of the metaphysical supply-siders the modern obsession with econometric models is a consequence of Smith's mechanistic view not a contradiction of it. Econometric models envision capitalists responding, almost blindly, to predictable market forces.

"The prevailing theory of capitalism suffers from one central and disabling flaw: a profound distrust and incomprehension of capitalists," Gilder writes in *The Spirit of Enterprise*. "With its circular flows of purchasing power, its invisible-handed markets, its intricate interplays of goods and moneys, all modern economics, in fact, resembles a vast mathematical drama, on an elaborate stage of theory, without a protagonist to animate the play."

Gilder's paradigm is built not on markets but on entrepreneurs. It is a Great Man Theory for economics. Say's Law is at the base of the paradigm, but with a richer meaning. For the metaphysical supply-siders, the statement that supply creates its own demand is a denial not only of demand management in the Keynesian sense but a denial of the market's ability to evoke new products and services. What distinguishes the entrepreneur is not his ability to take direction from the market but his ability to lead it. The demands of the many who make up the market are infinite and undefined; the entrepreneur is the one who through his ability to sympathetically imagine the needs of the many gives their infinite demand a new, definite, and more efficient shape, defining a need in the very act of creating a product that fulfills it.

Henry Ford's Model T was not a mere reaction to demand: The demand to go from one place to another as quickly and cheaply as possible dates from the birth of man and knows no limits. Ford was an entrepreneurial genius because he saw that the price and configuration of the Model T would fulfill the transportation needs of the average American better than that average American had ever imagined. The market did not cause the Model T; it permitted it. Almost overnight the automobile was transformed from a toy for the rich into a necessity for all: Supply had created its own demand. Thus Gilder argues that the entrepreneur is not a tool of markets, but a creator of markets. He does not react; he imagines.

In practical terms then, the metaphysical supply-siders agree with standard supply-side policy recommendations but for subtly different reasons. They accept, for instance, the importance of low tax rates not only because high tax rates marginally lower productivity by reducing average incentives but especially because they may cripple a generation of entrepreneurs—the great men—whose contributions would otherwise advance the economy further and faster than any marginal average increase in productivity.

Whether it will prove useful in judging fiscal policy, Gilder's is truly a different paradigm, a different way of looking at the behavior of the economy. It means that Gilder is going to disagree with adherents of the old classical view (even with some supply-siders) on a number of fundamental issues, including the value of economic models, the reliability of forecasting and of statistical indexes of the economy, and the relative importance of personal tax rates and corporate tax rates. Readers of NATIONAL REVIEW and the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Times* have been witnessing a debate over the relative merits of various tax-reform proposals. Gilder has argued that individual initiative is so important that a reduction in marginal rates justifies an increase in business taxes. Ture and Roberts argue that individual initiative is fatally disabled if the price of capital accumulation is too high. They conclude that the individual rate reductions aren't worth the price of substantially increased taxes on business.

These disagreements are important because, though they don't clarify the philosophical disagreements between different paradigms, they force different paradigms to compete in an arena in which we can learn who wins. If a tax-reform bill with high capital costs and low personal rates

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is passed, and the economy goes into a tailspin, we will have some reason to question Gilder's premises.

This, getting back to Kuhn, is how scientific paridigmatic disputes are settled. The broom-pushers decide who is right on the small issues, and then gradually determine who is right fundamentally.

That is what academic economists are doing right now. While it is true that few academic economists call themselves supply-siders, it is also true that hundreds of academics are looking into some of the specific questions suggested by the supply-side challenge. Part of the reason for this is that after fifty years of Keynesianism, PhD students were having trouble finding new dissertation topics. When supply side raises micro-economic issues, such as the effect of high marginal rates, and the effect of incentives, and when policymakers begin to act on those issues, students are willing to investigate.

More importantly, mainstream economists have grown insecure because of the failure of econometric models. After forty years of hubristic self-confidence in their ability to "fine-tune" the economy through adjustments in taxation, government spending, and money supply, mainstream economists are acknowledging their inability to accurately measure the economy, much less control it. "Macro-economic theory is in absolute shambles," William Niskanen, former chief of the Council of Economic Advisors told David Brock of *Insight* magazine. Humbled by the confounding experiences of the late Seventies and early Eighties, their responses to supply-side principles are changing from "That's ridiculous," to "Of course, we all know that."

"What happens is that the ideas get assimilated if they have survival qualities and people forget where they came from," says Alan Reynolds. "We're on the point of becoming conventional," says Wanniski, somewhat ruefully.

The same sort of nuts-and-bolts-level experimentation is taking place in policy circles. The supply-side tax-reform package was pushed through Congress by such men as Senators Robert Packwood and Robert Dole, and Representative Daniel Rostenkowski, and the legions of Capitol Hill economists, none of whom is a supply-sider. The Treasury Department is trumpeting the supply-side-influenced view that nations should coordinate exchange rates, when not too long ago, the prevailing wisdom was that international monetary problems a) can't exist, or b) if they do, they are fiscal problems, not monetary problems.

There doesn't seem to be a Gresham's law of economic discourse. Bad supply-side thinking doesn't drive out or discredit the good. Rather it opens up debate. By raising philosophical issues, and by making them politically attractive, the metaphysical supply-siders have given the broom-pushers something to look into. If mainstream conservatives can rip their gaze from the Soviet threat, they will find the war against materialism being fought on the economic front. It is an exciting, and turbulent time for economics. Supply-siders are leading the march for freedom, and hating each other every step of the way. □

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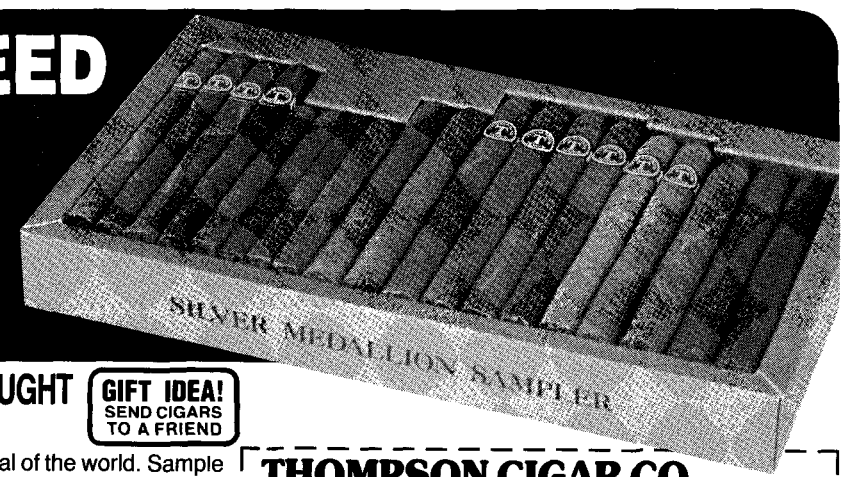

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"Moses and the true believers: Charlton Heston hovers over Nancy Reagan and William F. Buckley at the Plaza."—**M**

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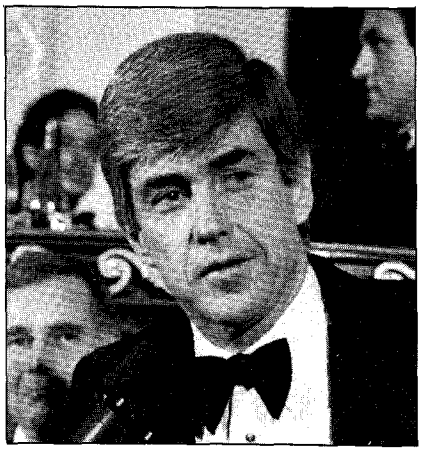

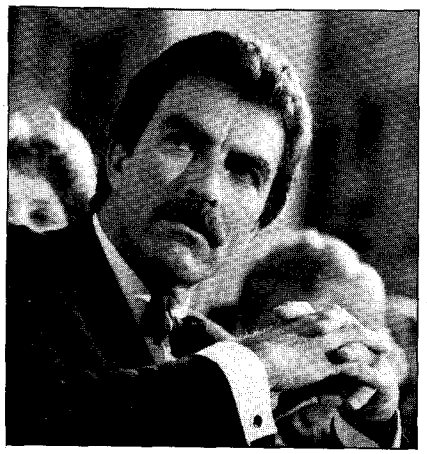

Top: Congressman Jack Kemp—"In twentieth-century America, who says 'conservatism' says National Review."

Bottom: "The gathering was a Who's Who of conservatism—supplemented by neoconservatives, a few journalists, and Tom Selleck."
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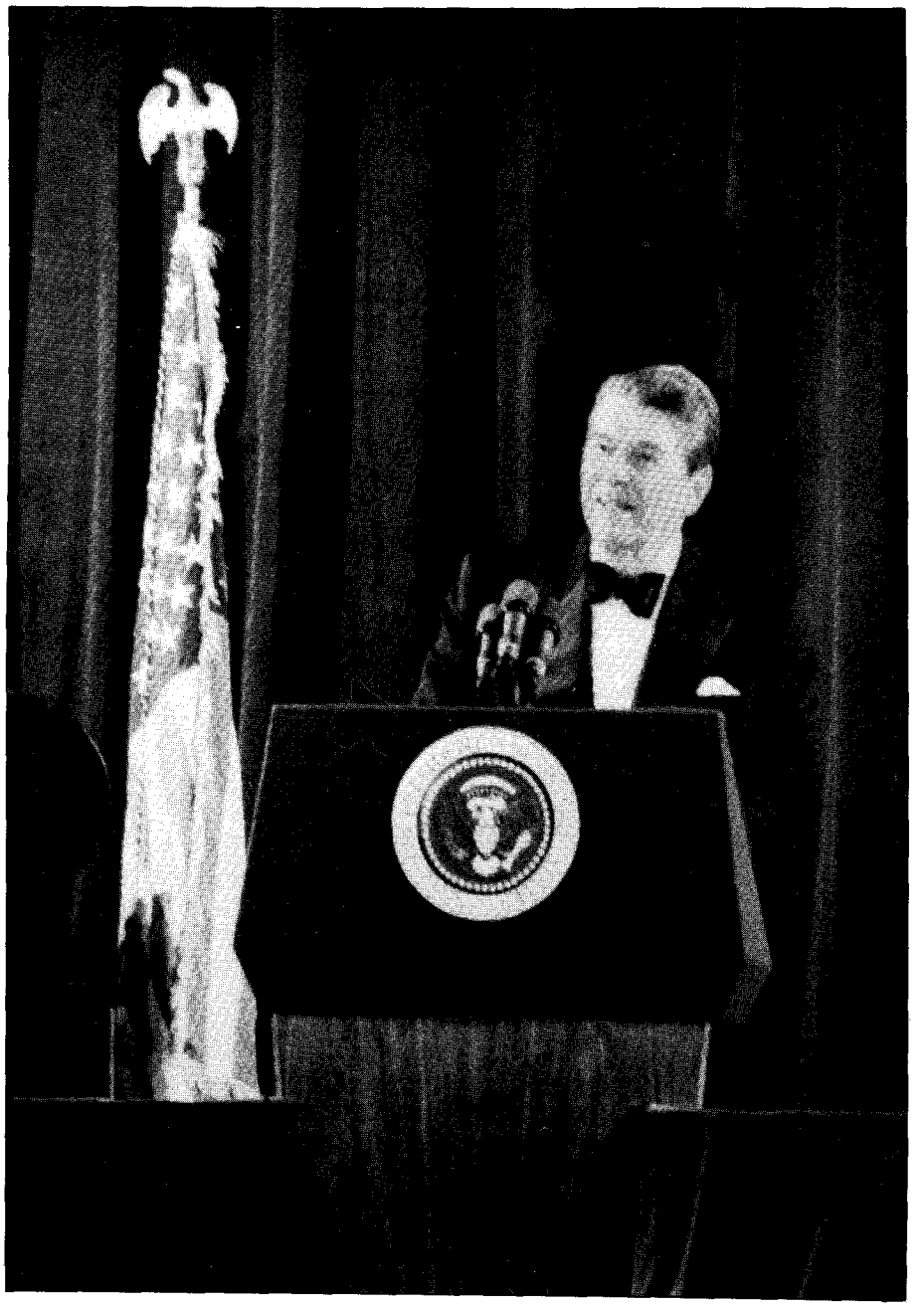

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DEMOCRACY COMES TO THE BLACK REPUBLIC

In the six months since I left Haiti and described the events surrounding the February 7 revolution ("Exorcising Haiti: The Last Days of Baby Doc," April 25), a surprising turnabout has taken place. In May and June the three-man military junta headed by Lieutenant General Henry Namphy had still to set a date for elections and seemed to have lost control. Demonstrations by armed street gangs were demanding the ouster of Colonel Williams Regala from the junta, asking summary execution of those leaders of the Duvalierist Tontons Macoutes still unlynched, and leading bloody forays against the priests of the *vaudou* cult (*houngans*), with encouragement from fanatical Protestant and Catholic rivals. But in July the threat of "anarchy" suddenly evaporated. A firm date for a presidential election (November 1987) was set, and revolutionary action predicted for July 29 never materialized.

What had happened? Certainly the setting of an election date helped: The rival parties, from the conservatives to the Marxists, did not wish to harm their election prospects by having their causes identified with mob action. But more importantly, it became clear that the junta itself had decided to stop sitting on its hands and take firm control in the streets. The leader in this reversal was the Defense and Interior Minister, Colonel Regala.

Who is Williams Regala? The facts—and the mythology, for in Haiti facts and myths are often interchangeable—are important. In the early 1960s Regala was a young army captain in Jérémie, at the tip of Haiti's southern peninsula. His enemies now charge him with carrying out orders from President François ("Papa Doc") Duvalier to round up and execute the president's mulatto enemies there. Regala denies the charge, pointing out that the arrests and executions were carried out not by the army but by Papa Doc's militia, the so-called Tontons Macoutes. On February 7, 1986, Colonel Regala, as Inspector General of the army, was present at the Palace with General Namphy when the latter broke the news to Jean-Claude Duvalier that there was no alternative to accepting the United States' offer of a plane to evacuate his family that night. The president's wife—subsequently notorious for telling Barbara Walters that "no one can live in Haiti without air conditioning"—was also present and she was outraged. The president drew his pistol and took aim at the presumptuous army chief. Regala stepped between them and seized Duvalier's arm before he could fire, and when Michèle Duvalier attempted to intervene, he seized her too; with the result that the president thought better of his impulsive act and decided to go quietly.

In July, when a second occasion for a bloodbath seemed imminent, it was Regala who appeared on television and announced that he was offering a prize—his new Mitsubishi "Pajero" with four hundred gallons of free gas—to anyone who would bring him evidence of burning tires or other illegal mob action on the fateful 29th. The implication was clear. The army was taking a firm stand and would come out shooting this time at the slightest sign of rioting. A week later, when I spoke to General Namphy's brother Joe, he told me that when Colonel Regala appeared the week before with the ruling triumvirate at a mass rally in Gonaïves, the "revolutionary capital," he had been hoisted shoulder-high and carried around the square.

Joe Namphy advised me to be in Jacmel early Friday morning to meet his brother, who was delivering a speech in that provincial capital—which I did. "He will be delivering it in Créole this time," Joe said, "not wishing to commit the error he made in Jérémie the week before. Like Baby Doc, he had spoken in French, with the result that few understood what he'd been saying."

In his speech at the Hotel de Ville (delivered in both languages this time) General Namphy explained, "Our program includes repair of the roads to Jacmel and its streets, a sports complex for Jacmel-Marigot, a TV transmission station, redirection of the Gossalines River to prevent flooding, a decentralization of tourism, and better schools." If he said anything about dredging the harbor—so long neglected by the Duvaliers for political reasons—to open it again to coffee freighters and cruise ships, I didn't catch it. But Jacmel, paved and painted as never before, already seemed to be reborn; and at a reception given afterward at the home of Colonel Gambetta Hyppolite, the local commander, who has become extremely popular, both army leaders received ovations.

Back in Port-au-Prince I had an extensive interview with Marc Bazin, for years an executive of the World Bank and now the leading candidate for the presidency.

Bazin, once Finance Minister during the Duvalier regime, was fired by Baby Doc because he refused to countersign presidential raids on public funds. He does not use "democracy" as a camouflage for power; he believes in it. If the public is willing to settle for something less than democracy—as it

The seventh edition of Mr. Rodman's standard Haiti: The Black Republic *has just been issued by Devin-Adair. The author is now preparing a definitive book on Haitian art for publication next year.*

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did throughout Haiti's dictator-ridden history—Bazin wants no part of that compromise.

An aristocrat from the north, tall and powerfully built, Bazin has the advantage of being black—making it difficult for his opponents on the Left to call him a tool of the mulatto capitalists. His charming wife, who comes from the prestigious Sam family in the capital, poured coffee at our early-morning talk in the headquarters of the nascent MIDH (*Mouvement pour l'Instauration de la Démocratie en Haïti*). I opened with a provocative question, prompted by a visit to the highly educated *houngan* Max Beauvoir at his *vaudou* "peristyle." Since *vaudou* is the seedbed for the popular arts, Haiti's most significant export to the United States and Europe, I had a special reason to be concerned about the murderous attacks on the *hounfors* (*vaudou* temples) throughout Haiti last May.

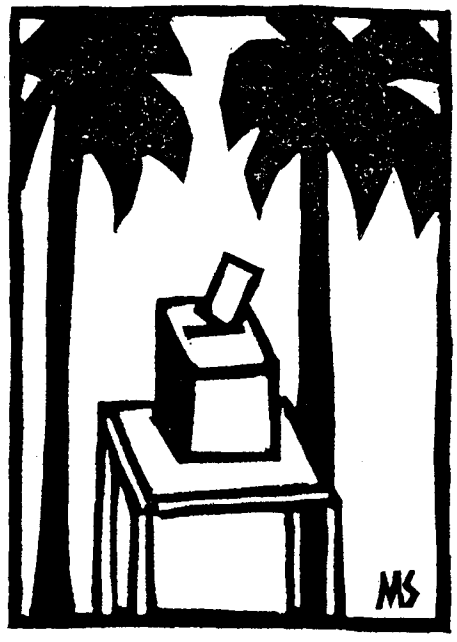
"Max told us," I said, "that during the week he was under siege in Mariani, fending off the Protestant-Catholic mob with machetes and stones, not only did the police decline to intervene, but no political party or newspaper in Haiti expressed outrage or even reported what was going on."

"It was not clear at the time what was happening," Bazin said. "I assumed with most others—perhaps wrongly—that the attacks around the capital were directed only against *houngans* who had been members of the Duvaliers' Tontons Macoutes. Our party platform contains a promise of protection for *all* religious cults, *vaudou* included: freedom of religion without qualifications."

The current issue of *Haiti Times*, a fine new English-language newspaper edited by Pierre Bayard and Jean-Pierre Cloutier, featured a recent speech in Washington by Lesly Delatour, the junta's economics minister. The gist of it was that there will be a balanced budget from now on—no borrowings, no debt, no deficit spending—financed by business taxes and an income tax of up to 35 per cent, with stringent controls to ensure that everyone pays. Most of the money received will be used for health services and education —*not* for subsidies to agriculture and industry, which will be considered concerns of the private sector. Customs duties must be lowered. The value of the *gourde* (traditionally five to the dollar) must be maintained. "The government must *not* devalue the currency or print valueless paper," Delatour said. He estimated that in the past it cost 6.2 million *gourdes* a month to keep the National Palace going. "This money will now be used for Haiti's real needs," he promised. The devaluation of the *gourde* in the last months of the Duvaliers' reign was caused in part by the dictator's sending millions out of the country to his private accounts. As soon as this practice stopped, the *gourde* began to recover.

An August 4 dispatch in the *New York Times* quoted Jeffrey Lite of the American Embassy as saying that American military assistance to Haiti might be increased from $1 million to $6 million for training and equipping (not arming) the police, which in Haiti is a branch of the army. I asked Marc Bazin whether he shared the fear of human-rights activists that this increased aid might be used, as one of them put it, "to systemize the army's repressive force." He shook his head, commenting that "restructuring the army and police must precede full democracy, or the reformer who takes office will have no teeth, no power, nothing but words as his weapons."

I asked him what his major economic thrust would be. "My first effort," he answered, "will be to bring the cost of living down. But that can't be accomplished without widespread education." For example, Haitian peasants use charcoal for fuel; that has caused a serious deforestation problem. Bazin agrees that it would make more sense to import charcoal from the U.S. and Colombia and sell it to the peasants at cost. But he points out that "the peasant will still cut down trees as he has been doing for generations until he understands why doing so only adds to his impoverishment. If I pass a law making deforestation for charcoal illegal, it won't mean anything until that law is respected."



"Taxing is involved, too," he continued. "For example, I oppose the high tax on coffee, which has forced many peasants to grow corn, which has no export value at all. The Duvalier government had been getting 13 to 15 million annually out of those coffee taxes. Only 350,000 acres in the plain here (the Cul-de-Sac) can be easily irrigated. Those acres are now the property of the government. The question is: How will that valuable acreage be used? Landowners should be encouraged to produce the maximum possible by graduated taxes rewarding efficiency."

THE PROSPECT of Bazin is hopeful for Haiti. But the Haitians have already been lucky. Bad as the Duvaliers were, revolutions are a risky thing; there was no guarantee things wouldn't get worse. Yet life in Haiti has already improved. Prices have come down drastically. Diesel fuel, gasoline, and cooking oil (which everyone uses), cement, flour, and sugar, no longer have to be priced to reflect the Duvalier-Bennett rake-off. (The Bennetts are Baby Doc's wife's family.) Employment dropped in the capital's transformation industries after February —but *not*, as the *New York Times* reported, out of "fear" but as a reflection of the worldwide falloff in computer sales; and this drop is on the way to being balanced by an influx of new industries. The turn upward began June 15 at a White House conference of sixty businessmen operating in Haiti who were assured by Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige that "the Administration's commitment to U.S. investments in Haiti and the Caribbean Basin remains in full force, and will continue to be in this region so important to us strategically, geopolitically, and commercially." If Bazin can bring true democracy, and firm American support can help supply stability, Haiti, so long synonymous with despair, may have the future she deserves. □

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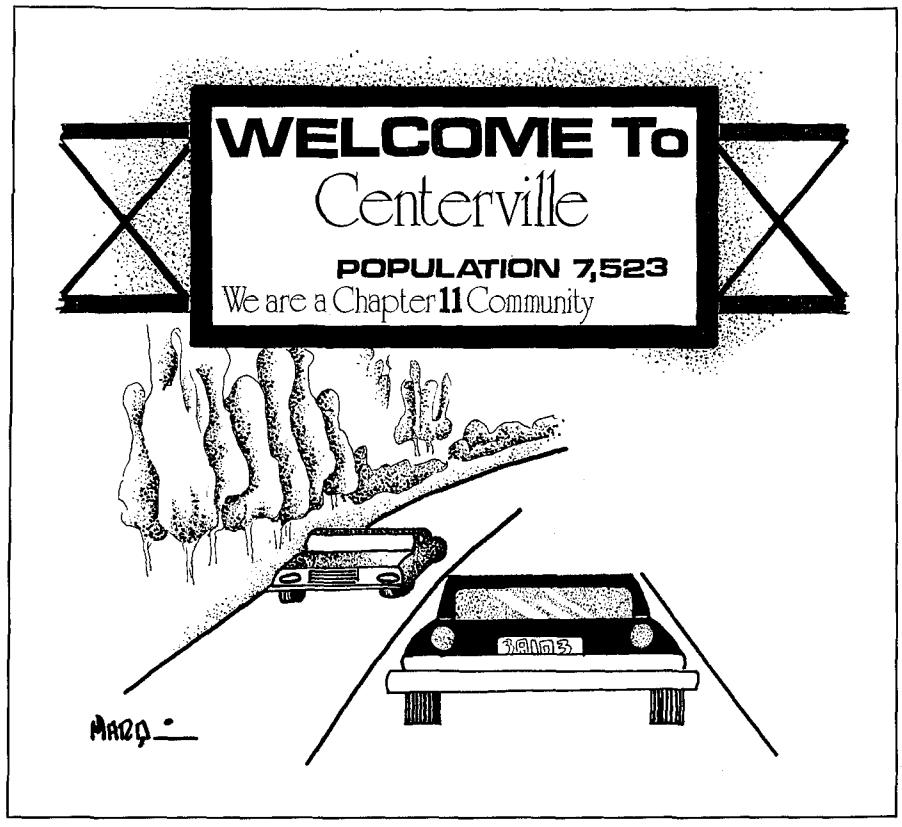

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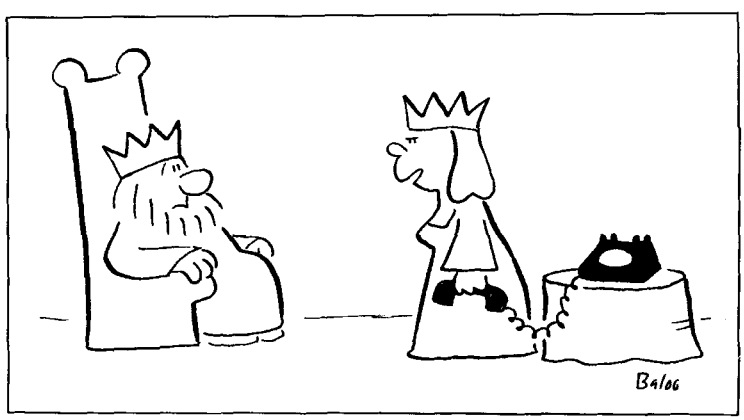
After the Deluge

Andy Rooney did a cartwheel;
Diane Sawyer seemed serene,
While Bill Moyers looked less sour
And Mike Wallace, not so green.
Walter Cronkite played it upbeat,
Though Dan Rather, still too tense,
Will, the Tarot cards inform me,
Soon be giving less offense.

W. H. VON DREELE



"Did you revoke Mother's most-favored-nation trading status?"

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EVANGELICALS AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT

UNLIKE THE origins of most nations, America's origins are not obscured in the mists of time. Not myths but objective chronicles and pure primary sources record our beginnings: writings meant to be understood in the same way by all, composed without deliberate obscurity or hidden motives. Yet our wisest men still debate the meaning of the American founding. Perhaps public-spiritedness renders some disputants reluctant to reject openly the principles the Founders followed. Perhaps others recognize the rhetorical advantage of credibly claiming: "The Fathers believed as we." Or perhaps all parties mean what they say and say what they mean.

In any case, the differences go deep. Some contend that the Founders built on a foundation of atheism, hedonism, and materialism. Others argue that our Fathers fabricated from more theistic, moralistic, and idealistic materials of classical, mostly Aristotelian, origin. But almost always, at bottom, seems to be this question: Are America's founding principles irreligious? Given the actual and rhetorical importance of the First Amendment as a defining aspect of our political tradition, much of the argument over that question is carried on under the guise of an argument over the purposes of the separation of church and state. If the First Amendment were generally regarded as a brake upon the power of religion, rather than as a protection for religion, that would go far toward persuading most people to view the Founders' handiwork as the product of anti-religious minds. The origins of the First Amendment, then, are a key piece of evidence in the debate over the purposes of the Fathers.

In Virginia today, there is a large public park called the Leland-Madison Park. In it stands a monument to Baptist preacher John Leland (1754–1841) and on it are these words:

> Near this spot in 1778, Elder John Leland and James Madison, the Father of the American Constitution, held a significant interview which resulted in the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia. Then Madison, a member of Congress from Orange, presented the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing religious liberty, free speech, and a free press. . . .

Historians will caution reserve in giving credence to the monument, but it is testimony to the liberal convictions Baptists and other evangelical sects held. In fact, Baptists and Presbyterians in this nation once quarreled amicably over where Jefferson first learned lessons in democracy—in Presbyterian ecclesiology or Baptist-church polity. One source reports the following:

> At some place the question was raised as to whether Jefferson got his idea of civil freedom from attending a Presbyterian church. Mrs. Madison, wife of the fourth President, replied: "I have a distinct remembrance of Mr. Jefferson speaking on the subject, and always declaring that it was a Baptist church from which these views were gathered."

One fact of history is certain, if practically forgotten: We owe separation of church and state in America today at least as much to the influence of evangelical Christianity and the likes of Reverend Leland as we do to the so-called rationalistic Enlightenment and Madison and Jefferson. Indeed, the gulf between Evangel and Enlightenment may not have been nearly as great as contemporary intellectual history claims.

Before Christ the world knew nothing of the distinction, not to say separation, of church and state. Princes and priests, often one and the same, claimed to stand in a special place between the people and the gods, or even to be gods themselves.

In modern times after the Reformation, the earliest advocates of religious liberty were Christians from the so-called "spiritualist" or "radical" wing of Protestantism—i.e., that wing most insistent on the Protestant principle of individual faith. At first called Anabaptists, later Baptists, they carried to logical conclusion Luther's principle that it is every man's right to seek truth in Scripture.

WITH A liberality breathtaking for his age, Thomas Helwys, founder of what is generally regarded as the first Baptist church on English soil, denied in his *A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity* (1612) "Haveing anie thoughts of provoking evill against them of the Romish religion, in regard of their profession," and indicated that "if they be true and faithfull subjects of the King . . . wee do freely professe that our Lord the King hath no more powers over their coonsciences than over ours, and that is none at all . . . let them be heretikes, Turcks, Jewes, or whatsoever it apperteynes not to the earthly power to punish them in the least measure. . . ."

In America, Roger Williams, the colonies' "Apostle of Religious Liberty," became the best known and most widely read seventeenth-century Baptist writer on religious liberty. During the 1640s while in England seeking a charter for Rhode Island, Williams wrote his most famous work, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience*, challenging "that commonly received and not questioned

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opinion, viz., that the civil state and the spiritual, the church and the commonwealth, they are like Hippocrates' twin, they are born together, grow up together." Williams's first point in *The Bloudy Tenent* was this:

> First, that the blood of so many hundred thousand souls of Protestants and Papists, spilt in the wars of present and former ages, for their respective consciences, is not required nor accepted by Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace. . . . An enforced uniformity of religion throughout a nation or civil state confounds the civil and religious, denies the principles of Christianity and civility, and that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh . . .

For Williams and the Baptists, separation of church and state was a Christian conviction. By the time of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the enactment of the Toleration Act of 1689, toleration (at least of Protestant dissenters from the Church of England) had become part of a broad consensus of English religious/political opinion.

Locke's *A Letter concerning Toleration* (1689) contained few if any novel opinions—scarcely a point not found in the Baptist writings of a half-century earlier. In Locke's reasoning, anything other than toleration became irrational—an attempt at the impossible. Baptists, and now men of many other confessions, could agree with Locke's formulation of the first principle of religious freedom: True Christianity, says Locke, cannot be forced:

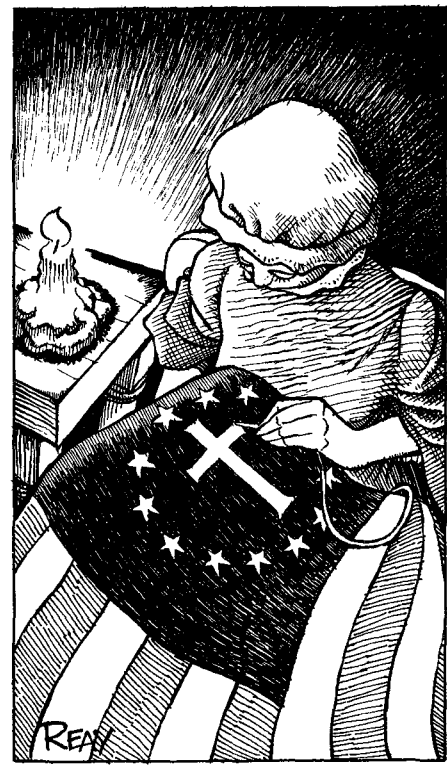
> The care of souls is not committed to the civil magistrate any more than to other men. It is not committed unto him . . . by God; because it appears not that God has ever given any such authority to one over another as to compel anyone to his religion. Nor can any such power be vested in the magistrate by the consent of the people, because no man can so far abandon the care of his own salvation as blindly to leave to the choice of any other, whether prince or subject, to prescribe to him what faith or worship he shall embrace. For no man can, if he would, conform his faith to the dictates of another.

Unlike modern liberals, Locke and the Baptists championed religious toleration *not* because they considered belief in toleration itself a faith that saves, but rather because intolerance suggests error in understanding the true doctrine of salvation—that only a free belief can send one to heaven.

In colonial America, as the Revolution approached, the tide of opinion flowed toward separation of church and state. The deep current of America's Protestant heritage, emphasizing free heart belief as the only faith that saves, added the strength of religious conviction to the cause. And the Great Awakening, which so revived the spirit of scriptural Christianity in the 1740s and 1750s, helped to make freedom of religion the wave of the future.

DEVELOPING CHRISTIAN conviction and the "improved science of politics" central to the Enlightenment converged on the issue of religious liberty. The denial of any role in religion to government was a cardinal tenet of the new political science, which began with the principle that government has only a very limited purpose: protection of individual rights. It was no accident that the single most important figure in modern political science, John Locke, also wrote the most influential work of the age on religious liberty, *A Letter concerning Toleration*. Locke gave rigor and precision to what people already believed. Not surprisingly, he was much quoted by advocates of separation of church and state among the sects whose doctrines he had philosophically reflected and refined. In 1774, for example, when they were engaged in a struggle for liberty in Massachusetts, where church and state remained closely intertwined, Baptists appealed to the First Continental Congress in these terms:

> Men unite in society, according to the great Mr. Locke, with an intention in every one the better to preserve himself, his liberty and property. The power of the society, or the Legislature constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend any further than the common good . . . We affirm that the magistrate's power extends not to the establishing of any articles of faith or forms of worship, by force of laws; for laws are of no force without penalties. The care of souls cannot belong to the civil magistrate, because his power consists only in outward force; but pure and saving religion consists in the inward persuasion of the mind, without which nothing can be acceptable to God.



Richard Reay

Simultaneous with the War for Independence, a struggle broke out in the states to remove the remaining impediments to religious liberty. As colonies became states, new constitutions were required, and rapid progress was made toward separation of church and state. Not deists and infidels but mainly evangelical sects such as Baptists and Presbyterians spearheaded the drive for religious liberty at the state level. By the time of the ratification of the Constitution in 1789, separation of church and state was nearly a reality in every state. Here and there remained vestiges of former religious establishments in the form of religious taxes and tests. But none of the state constitutions made any provision for full-blown established churches on the Old World model, as had once existed in some of the American colonies.

The proposed Constitution of the United States created not "a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion," claimed James Madison. His views were repeated by other members of the Constitutional Convention as they sought to persuade the people to ratify. Thus Edmund Randolph, speaking to the Virginia ratification convention, said, "No power is expressly given to Congress over religion." But in the states it was objected that some express prohibition of religious legislation was needed. Many were not persuaded by Madison's assurance that "The government has no jurisdiction over" religion, or by Alexander Hamilton's question

(Continues on page 61)

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SDI, FREE TRADE, AND THE GREAT WHITE NORTH

IT HAS BEEN MORE than a year since President Reagan and Prime Minister Mulroney pledged themselves to negotiations that would lead to a treaty sweeping away most—or at least many—of the tariff and nontariff barriers to trade in goods and services between the United States and Canada.

That announcement, made at the Quebec City "Shamrock Summit" on St. Patrick's Day 1985, has produced a major domestic squabble in Canada and a peck of political troubles for Mulroney. It also triggered, in Canadian financial circles, a serious examination of the country's economic prospects and competitive situation.

At first, an overwhelming majority of Canadians supported the drive toward free trade. Then the Left got its act together. For a year now, Canadians have been subjected to a slick, shrill assault on the free-trade idea from every leftist group in the country, ranging from the Communist Party to the Socialist NDP to the big unions to the self-styled "nationalist" organizations. Because of the ascendancy of leftist and anti-American attitudes in the media, the presentation has been one-sided, emphasizing the vulnerability not only of Canadian manufacturing but of Canadian sovereignty itself.

Just as the free-trade talks were actually getting under way, against a crescendo of scare talk from the Left, President Reagan dropped a bombshell and a mini trade war began, much to the delight of the critics. What was always a tenuous prospect is now a real long shot. The shock came when the White House announced imposition of a punitive 35 per cent tariff on imports of Canadian shakes and shingles.

Mr. Coxe is a director of Gordon Capital Corporation in Toronto and a financial columnist.

Now, most people wouldn't know a shake if they saw one, and would consider shingles a trivial item, but Canada's exports of these cedar products (shingles for the roofs of houses, shakes for the sides) have grown rapidly and have taken 73 per cent of the U.S. market. Although total dollar value of these exports is relatively small, they account for about three to four thousand jobs in British Columbia.

The White House neglected to give Mulroney advance notification of this drastic measure, humiliating him in the House of Commons, and a united opposition ridiculed him as a mere Reagan lapdog unable to defend Canadian interests. His so-called "special relationship" with Reagan, sneered Liberals and NDP spokesmen, was that of a toady. They demanded an end to the free-trade talks.

Mulroney was stunned, and told the House that there were times when it was difficult to be a friend to the Americans. However, he declined to revert to the Yankee-bashing of the Trudeau era, leaving such venom to the opposition.

A week later, Mulroney retaliated by imposing special tariffs on a diverse group of American exports, including books, computer parts, porridge, tea, and, oddest of all, Christmas trees. The dollar value of those exports is apparently equal to the value of shake and shingle exports.

George Bush then dropped by Ottawa to try to smooth over the "family spat," but Mulroney's credibility was so seriously undermined that it's doubtful he could either negotiate a realistic deal or sell it to the populace now.

To make matters worse, the American lumber industry, smelling blood, is demanding similar protection against Canada's whole range of softwood exports—a $3.5-billion annual business that is the underpinning of the economies of British Columbia and New Brunswick. If Reagan can't beat the lumber lobby, not only free trade will be dead: so will the Tories.

As George Bush commented, the congressional Democrats have launched a "tidal wave of protectionism." The trade bill that nearly passed over Reagan's veto a few weeks ago was the most dangerous since Smoot-Hawley.

Reagan's own trade policy is almost entirely defensive. Essentially, it involves the devaluation of the dollar (achieved at the G-5 meeting last September) and an assault on specific protectionist bars abroad to American exports, while fighting for liberal trade policies at home.

THE DEMOCRATS and their union allies want to make this year's elections a referendum on trade. Although the disastrous American trade deficit (running at more than $160 billion annually) is bound to shrink once the effects of the devaluation move through the world trade system, the rush by foreign exporters to shove through as much merchandise as possible before the full effects of devaluation are felt has actually widened the gap this year.

The Canadian free-trade dispute is part of this confrontation between Reagan and the Democrats. Although most Americans see the trade deficit in terms of Toyotas, Hondas, and Sonys, the trade deficit with Canada, at $16 billion, is second only to the deficit with Japan, at $40 billion plus. In fact, total Canada-U.S. trade far exceeds U.S.-Japan trade. Canada acquires 76 per cent of its *total* supply of imports from the U.S., and sends 78 per cent of its exports to the U.S. U.S. trade with Ontario alone exceeds U.S. trade with Japan.

(Continues on page 61)

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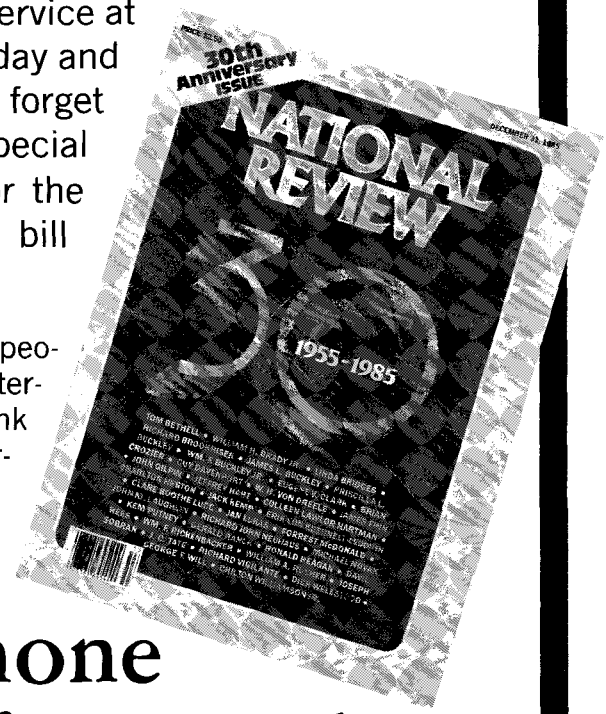

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THE CULTURE OF CORRUPTION

THIS MONTH (or was it last?) the media have been trumpeting tales of terrorism, but last month (or was it the one before?) corruption was on the menu—that of Ferdinand and Imelda. Corruption is a safe topic. Safest of all is to speak of corruption in the Third World, especially when awful reactionaries can be accused, like Marcos, the Shah, Somoza, any of our abandoned allies.

We speak less of corruption under regimes that still enjoy our fragile friendship, like Diem in the past and Chun these days. Yet one time in Senegal I found that 240 public officials had been jailed for taking bribes. In Morocco, patients were obliged to pay for the bedsheets and pillows in hospitals. If they could not, they were thrown out the back door. In Madagascar, the government collects all the rural produce and pays for it what it wants, but deals can be made with the local party potentate. In Egypt or India, you may not pass customs unless you give a gratuity to the official in charge: If you are lucky, a few coins, a ballpoint pen, a lipstick may do. In India, again, people drop a little extra in the hands of a cop or train conductor; if the suspect or passenger refuses to pay, his wife may be raped.

In spite of these gruesome or grotesque instances, I suggest we in the West should not condemn the culprits out of hand, and should not generally apply our own norms and yardsticks when it comes to corruption elsewhere. Roman-cum-Christian legal and ethical concepts have no validity in the world at large, and the passing of centuries has hardly modified immemorial habits. The Indonesian T. S. Alisjahbana wrote, having his countrymen in mind, that archaic man has a religiously rooted reverence for his social superiors, to whom he feels he ought to bring gifts, as he does to gods, spirits, and demons.

The root of what we call corruption is to be found in the ancient structure of most societies, in the Third World and elsewhere. At the top are the sacred rulers, tribal chiefs, feudal nobility, or the elite of settled conquerors, like the Normans in England after 1066, the Moguls in India, or the colonial administrators of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the bottom, the masses of peasants, small traders, artisans, merchants of bazaars, members of religious minorities, travelers, foreigners without a well-defined status. It was a fact of life—and this has hardly changed—that members of society's lower ranks brought presents to their superiors: baskets of fruit, a couple of chickens, a goat, a piglet, some cash or trinkets to the wife. On what occasions? In litigations where the judge's good will, or mere impartiality, was essential (the "just king," Solomon or Saint Louis, became an instant legend); to own or keep land, to trade, to lessen a tax, to exempt a son from military service; for protection against a greedy neighbor, an abusing official, marauding soldiers; and so on and on, life being fraught with uncertainties and dangers.

When the European colonist arrived —in Africa, Asia, Oceania—an improvement was not necessarily felt. True, the white man set up a relatively honest administration, yet the system remained parallel to the old network of obligations. The African (or Asian) might prefer to take his litigation to the colonial administrator's court. It cost him less or nothing. In the "parallel system," however, the tribal chief too had to be satisfied with presents to the favorite wife. The white *sahib* or *bwana* took no bribe; but, first, he had to be reached, and access was through the servant.

It can hardly be said that modernization, democracy, or a greater openness to the world has reduced the universal recourse to bribery and corruption. Almost the opposite is the case, since these alleged blessings have discredited and dismantled the traditional network, replacing it with a rootless bureaucracy, often more abusive. The traditional network is the tribal connection, the only genuine political reality in most of the Third World.

WHEN A city-based bureaucracy moves in, its members still regard themselves as standing under the (extended) family obligations. The notion of the common, national good remains foreign. I knew a young Ivorian who had himself sent abroad on embassy duties so as not to have to spend his income on his distant "cousins'" various needs. The mentality of offering and expecting bribes has not changed. What has changed is the amount that changes hands: no longer relatively modest presents but large sums of money or some favor. I remember the stories I was told in India: To get a telephone installed or one's child admitted to a good school, important sums were paid. In New Guinea, high officials requisitioned the litigant's wife. Not to mention Mexico and the riches received by an ex-president while in office, or by the chief of police of the capital, who was extradited to Washington.

Back to Marcos. No question that he was corrupt, but not more than any other ruler, president, or prime minister in the Third World. Had he not been sensitive to—presents—how would a friend of mine, a businessman from New York, have obtained favorable conditions for his factory, built on the outskirts of Manila? Both he and Marcos had concluded that it was better to give jobs to some two hundred Filipinos than no jobs, no factory—no presents. □

Mr. Molnar, who has traveled extensively in the Third World, is on a tour of Latin America.

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THE WASHINGTON–MOSCOW AXIS

IS THERE SUCH a thing as a Washington-Moscow axis? On the one hand there are undeniable East-West tensions. In the past forty years these have sometimes led to local wars, "proxy wars," and clashes between nations belonging to one or the other camp. There have also been two genuine engagements between American forces and countries belonging to the Red empire: Korea and Vietnam. But this is only one side of the coin.

There is another. The democratic ideas of the French Revolution, so despised by the Founding Fathers, have, since 1828, deeply affected the American political climate. Walter Lippmann told us that "Jacobinism becomes the popular political creed of American democracy." At the same time, Communism is, to a large extent, another one of the consequences of these democratic ideas. As a result, there is a definite, if ephemeral, relationship between "democratism," which has strongly affected the American mentality, and Communism. This was evident during World War II and its aftermath—until the problematic honeymoon between the U.S. and the USSR came to an end—and it went beyond Henry Wallace's dream of a "Century of the Common Man." There is a leftist vein in Anglo-American history that goes back to Thomas Paine, to England's Levelers and Diggers, even to Wat Tyler, John Ball, and the Lollards. No wonder the great flirtation between Washington and Moscow had an ideological foundation and a certain popular appeal.

What has kept the two societies apart is a tradition anterior to modern democracy: the American (and European) belief in personal liberty. The New Testament speaks of freedom, never of equality, which belongs to the democratic as well as the socialist vocabulary. And habeas corpus preceded the French Revolution. Samuel Johnson said that the right to vote meant nothing to him, but he considered habeas corpus of crucial importance.

The folklore of American democratism still affects American politics, particularly foreign affairs. Since the United States has thrived on free elections, a representative form of government, and a steadily growing franchise, idealistic Americans wish to extend their happiness and their successes to all the world. Unfortunately, this is connected with a phenomenon the Germans call *Fernstenliebe*, love for those who are geographically most remote (as against *Nächstenliebe*, love for one's neighbor).

Meanwhile, in the Soviet empire, the constitution and the government emphasize, on paper at least, republicanism, democracy, social and racial equality, female emancipation, progress, and technology. Many Americans are impressed, although they admit that this admirable program has not yet been achieved. But surely the Soviets speak the same, almost the same, language as their American cousins: The points of the program can be discussed with them. As Wallace once said: "They have economic democracy and we have political democracy." Have not the U.S. and the USSR jointly fought colonialism since 1945? Have they not competed nobly under the motto "I can be more anti-colonialist than you"?

Today, the most visible parallelism between American and Soviet foreign policies is to be found in the Southern Hemisphere. In South Africa a reform program has been under way ever since 1976, which is gradually eliminating apartheid. In order to effect this, Pretoria has enacted countless laws, bylaws, and regulations. This is a delicate operation involving a situation radically different from that in the old American South. Yet, many Americans and Europeans want to create a grave economic crisis in South Africa that will hit the poorer (i.e., black) portion of the population so that, in its despair, it will rise in nearly hopeless rebellion. Noble dreamers in the Northern Hemisphere—in the Soviet empire, the Western European democracies, and apparently even the American government—want to see others die for the sake of their idealistic ideology. The aims of Washington and Moscow seem to be working in synchronization.

Democracy in Chile

AS THEY DO in Chile. Nobody knows what a crazy mosaic democracy and free elections would produce there. The Christian Democrats, who rejected Alessandri and voted for the Communist-backed Socialist Allende in 1970, belong to the Left, as do most of the bishops. Christian Democrats would never have the guts to stand up against the revolutionary Marxists. Moscow demands (as do some people in Washington) the "democratization" of Chile, conscious of Friedrich Engels's statement that the democratic republic is the ideal basis for a proletarian takeover. Democracy is only a frame, the picture is filled in by the voters.

In 1980 General Pinochet had a solid majority. Then came the world economic crisis, and modern man always blames (rightly or wrongly) the government for his financial plight. All we can hope for now is an improvement in the economic situation. Yet, even with the return of middle-of-the-roaders to the camp of Pinochet, the Marxists will continue to murder right and left, as they do also in prosperous, liberal democracies.

The American people should heed George Kennan's warning that "the legalistic-moralistic approach to international affairs" has exceedingly serious drawbacks. It pleases the hypocritical partner in Moscow no end. □

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WELFARE QUEENS (AND KINGS)

William McGurn

How NATO Weakens the West, by Melvyn Krauss (Simon & Schuster, 262 pp., $17.95)

JUST TWO SUMMERS ago, during the fortieth-anniversary celebrations of the D-Day invasion, the Allies once again stood together on the Normandy sands, a moving picture of eight chiefs of state under eight free-flying flags. Not far away, in the village of Ste.-Mère-Eglise, the little grey stone church features a more permanent testimony to the same struggle: a stained-glass window of the Madonna and Child—surrounded by paratroopers from the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division who liberated the town from the Nazis. In the spirit of the anniversary celebrations, in the remembrance of that awesome evil met and overcome, it was for a fleeting moment possible to view the grumbles within the Alliance as but the inevitable minor complaints of any free association of nations.

Not today. In the short time since Ronald Reagan and his Allied partners went to Normandy, events have proved that the strains in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are anything but minor. Since that day the Europeans have lobbied against the President's Strategic Defense Initiative, condemned the U.S. strike on Libya, and in general carried on as if America were the greatest threat to world peace. The list of European actions is discouraging even to the most determined Atlanticists: Italian troops drawing their weapons on U.S. soldiers trying to bring a well-known terrorist to trial; a Greek premier traveling to Warsaw to endorse General Jaruzelski after the latter's crackdown on Solidarity; a Belgian government permitting one of its firms to sell the Soviets sophisticated machinery used in construction of the SS-20s pointed at Europe. In the light of these developments, Melvyn Krauss's new book, *How NATO Weakens the West*, confirms what many Americans have started to suspect.

A senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of economics at New York University, Krauss argues that Europe's irresponsibility is a factor in its military dependence on the United States. Among other interesting points, Krauss calls for Japanese rearmament, a German nuclear capability, and an American Common Market with the Caribbean. But the emphasis (quite properly) is on Europe. "When the United States gave Europe a defense guarantee," he says, "it also gave the Europeans an incentive to minimize their own defense efforts."

Certainly America bears a disproportionate share of the NATO burden. Krauss cites a CATO Institute estimate of $134 billion *each year* from America, resources that could easily be devoted elsewhere. He notes, for example, that "if the U.S. were to pull out of NATO, the country could fully fund strategic defense at the same time that it reduced the deficit by $74 billion."

Nor does he overlook the growing anti-European sentiment in America. With defense costs now eating up some 28 per cent of the U.S. federal budget, and with NATO eating up more than half of that, it is only a matter of time before some presidential candidate campaigns on the popular resentment and argues for a pullout. Although Krauss agrees that a pullout is the answer, he blames "the system" rather than the Europeans for the problem. Offered a free ride, he notes, almost anyone is bound to abuse it.

It's difficult to argue against the notion that Europe's dependency on America has made the former the most scandalous welfare queen in history. As Krauss reports, "The sundry states of Western Europe, taken as an aggregate, have four times the population of the Soviet Union, three times its gross national product and technical superiority." He might have added that Europe as a whole even has a larger gross national product than the U.S.

If the present defense arrangement indisputably contributes to European appeasement, it remains nonetheless difficult to place the entire blame, as Krauss does, on "the system." At its heart, this argument is a variant of that determinism which tends to explain all human actions solely in economic terms. Although economic factors exert powerful political, cultural, and moral pressures, economic factors are not usually the sole factors. Neither are they necessarily the determining factors. In the particular case of Europe, the postwar dependency on America does not explain, for example, Europe's similar policy toward Hitler during the Thirties. The experience of the twentieth century as a whole suggests that Eu-

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Gerard Alexander is a senior studying African affairs at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

As a doctoral candidate at Columbia University Arnold Beichman, currently a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, was (and is) an admiring student of Professor Bialer.

William McGurn is deputy editorial features editor of the Wall Street Journal Europe.

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rope's problems have deeper causes than economics alone.

Still, the question of political will versus economic dependence is a chicken-or-the-egg proposition that in this case does not affect Professor Krauss's eminently reasonable conclusions. He believes that absent a U.S. withdrawal things will pretty much continue down the dismal path they have been following for the past few years. "The United States must abandon NATO neither because Americans have become anti-European nor that we want to teach our Alliance partners a lesson," he writes, "but because the present system of Western deterrence is no longer working."

These words are addressed to an American audience and in particular to American policymakers. They come from an author whose pro-Western credentials are impeccable and whose conclusions are therefore all the more compelling. The book deserves as much attention in Paris, Bonn, and London as it does in Washington, for it is unlikely that future critics will be as concerned with promoting a stronger Europe as Professor Krauss. □

RANDOM NOTES

□ More October Titles: *The Frontiers of Management: Where Tomorrow's Decisions Are Being Shaped Today* (Dutton/Truman Talley, $19.95), by Peter F. Drucker, is a collection of 35 essays in which the veteran commentator on management and economics considers the opportunities, as well as the problems, confronting American industrial managers today. . . . In *The Reckoning* (Morrow, $19.95), David Halberstam argues that slackness on the part of the American working and managerial classes has produced a decline in industrial competence so severe as to threaten not only the standard of living but the United States' future as a major power. . . . *Crisis in Bethlehem: Big Steel's Struggle to Survive* (Adler & Adler/Harper & Row, $17.95), by John Strohmeyer (editor of the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, *Globe Times* and Pulitzer Prize recipient), considers the cataclysmic decline of Bethlehem Steel and spreads the blame among management, labor, community, and government.

In *The U.S. Senate: Paralysis or a Search for Consensus?* (Crown, $14.95), George E. Reedy, director of the Senate Majority Policy Committee in the 1950s and a biographer of Lyndon B. Johnson, describes how Johnson was able to avail himself of the Senate's horse-trading fluidity to deliver Democratic senators to Eisenhower and make the Republican ones look like obstructionists—part of a *modus operandi* that, he contends, leaves the U.S. Senate—then as now—essentially impotent. . . . *Thunder in America: The Improbable Presidential Campaign of Jesse Jackson* (Texas Monthly, $16.95), by Bob Faw and Nancy Skelton, and with a foreword by Dan Rather, provides a sympathetic description of Jackson's 1984 campaign and concludes that the black political network it created will reveal its power in future elections.

The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune (Knopf, $24.95), by Richard Kluger, is a history of the *Trib* from its nineteenth-century beginnings in Horace Greeley's *Tribune* and James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, through the merger of the two great papers in 1924, to its demise twenty years ago, by the man who served as the *Tribune*'s last literary editor.

—CW

THE SICK BEAR OF EUROPE

Arnold Beichman

The Soviet Paradox: External Expansion, Internal Decline, by Seweryn Bialer (Knopf, 391 pp., $22.95)

Seweryn Bialer, one of our most knowledgeable Sovietologists, describes as the *idée maîtresse* of his book a paradox that both Gorbachev and Western leaders must face for the rest of the century: the internal socio-economic decline of the Soviet system coupled with an awesome Soviet military power directed toward "external goals," Professor Bialer's euphemism for world domination.

This crucial paradox affects Soviet military policy and foreign behavior—toward Eastern Europe, China, Western Europe, and the United States. While seeking to avoid nuclear confrontation, the Kremlin exploits and inspires turmoil in the Third World.

The author, who emigrated from Poland in the 1950s and is now director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, hasn't a good word to say about any aspect of the Soviet economy. In fact, he says rather mordantly that the hammer and sickle are appropriate emblems of Communism, since they are hand tools belonging to the past, "the proper symbols of the Soviet Union's economic and technological backwardness."

There are a number of contradictions in Bialer's book that weaken what would otherwise be a superb analysis. To deal with these contradictions, let me first list the main themes of his book:

1. The Soviet domestic system is in a declining phase, a trend that is irreversible for the remainder of the century. This systemic crisis, however, is not a crisis of survival but one of effectiveness, and will not be resolved in the 1980s.

2. Continued existence of specific characteristics of the Stalinist system, such as the command economy, is inevitable. In fact, the Soviet economic system is virtually unchanged in its basic characteristics from the Stalinist model.

3. Without a return to Stalinist terror, attempts to effect major structural changes in the Soviet system are unlikely to succeed. Perhaps that is why, says Bialer, "people feel in their bones that mass terror could once again become a reality."

4. The Soviet Union is the world's largest and last colonial empire, and, as Bialer writes, "far from being a sated power, [it] has only recently entered a truly global phase of expansionist ambitions."

5. It is highly probable that ethnic issues within the Soviet empire will become the most important cause of sweeping change or even disintegration.

6. However, the Kremlin still enjoys significant popular backing, and it is unlikely that the divisions within the country will be deep enough to undermine the system. Nevertheless, the Soviet crisis of effectiveness means that stability of the social order is declining, and that, in turn, means "increasing coerciveness" by Soviet power-holders. There may come a time when the crisis of effectiveness will become a crisis of survival.

7. The Soviet Union is no longer a totalitarian regime but it is not yet a traditional authoritarian regime, which might be an improvement for the Soviet peoples. Bialer describes the USSR as "a coercive police state [with] a network of informers that blankets the USSR [and] precludes formation of independent groups that could challenge

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Soviet power." Don't such characteristics define a totalitarian regime?

8. Working-class demoralization is so profound, disillusionment with the regime's lavish promises so deep, that both American and Russian social scientists "wonder if the entire present generation of workers is not irretrievably irresponsible."

9. The United States cannot be expected to accept détente with a power that crushes an Eastern European country every decade or so.

10. Soviet foreign policy suffers from a serious contradiction. On the one hand, Soviet leaders want to avoid confrontation with either the U.S. or China. On the other hand, the same leaders simultaneously engage in a program of expansionism in which military power plays a dominant role. Why? Because the USSR is "inherently aggressive."

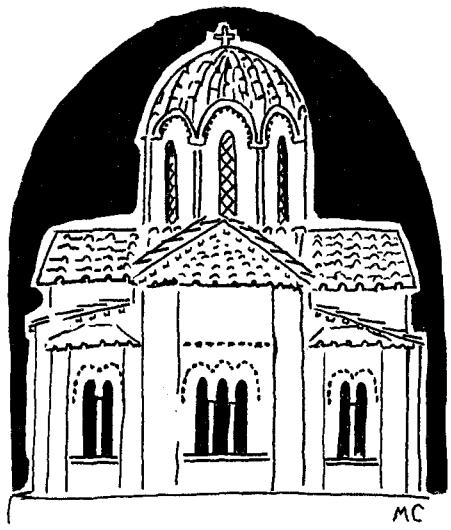
11. The USSR has only recently entered a truly global phase of expansionist ambitions. In fact, "the danger that military intervention will be repeated in the 1980s is quite high." Pakistan may well become a target of opportunity for Gorbachev.

12. The 1970s demonstrated that agreements reached with the Soviet Union from positions of weakness, as occurred during the Nixon-Kissinger and Ford-Kissinger Administrations, will never stick. It was rather late in the day when President Carter, after the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan, decided that Soviet promises couldn't be trusted and decided to rearm the United States.

13. The USSR entertains the idea that under conditions of strategic parity its immense conventional power could be used at relatively low cost and risk to gain control over selected targets of opportunity in the Third World. The U.S. should try to increase the costs and risks to the Soviet Union of such adventures.

14. "Containment of Soviet power can be achieved only if the threat of East-West confrontation is credible."

These are some of the highlights of Bialer's thoughtful and informed survey of Soviet prospects in the coming decades. He has even established an equation that may be called Bialer's Law, namely, in the Soviet Union, hard international times almost always produce hard domestic times. It's an equation that works in reverse, as well: Hard domestic times in the



USSR almost always mean hard international times. Yet, when one examines his themes closely, one is tempted to suggest that this is a curate's egg of a book: a reference to the apocryphal reply of the meek curate who, having breakfasted on a rather smelly egg given him by his episcopal host, said that parts of it were excellent.

There are subtle imbalances in how Bialer deals with differences between the U.S. and the USSR. He says, for example, that Reagan Administration rhetoric has been "unnecessarily humiliating" to the Soviet leaders. However, Soviet rhetoric is described only as "exaggerated." Bialer himself talks about "the stultified cultural wasteland of official Russia," "the overwhelming corruption and moral rot," "the ill-concealed pessimism, frustration, and growing doubts" about the system, "the immorality, the oppressiveness and brutality of the Soviet system." All Reagan said was that the USSR was an "evil empire."

He describes Soviet policymakers as "practical politicians like Khrushchev or Andropov rather than theoreticians and propagandists." I can't imagine practical politicians like, say, Tip O'Neill sentencing opponents to psychiatric hospitals where they would be drugged; punitive psychiatry and pharmacology are not characteristic of practical politicians. To refer to Yuri Andropov, who came to the top Politburo spot via the KGB, as a practical politician is rather like A. J. P. Taylor's description of Adolf Hitler as a normal European statesman.

Bialer says that when the Soviet Union reached strategic parity with the U.S. it didn't cease its military buildup. True. But, he adds, the buildup proceeded by "the force of inertia," supervised and pushed by the military. No evidence is offered to confirm what on the face of it is the most implausible statement since Beatrice and Sidney Webb, at the height of Stalin's purges, described the Soviet Union as a "new civilization."

Bialer derides the notion that one should accept at face value the Soviet claim that Marxism-Leninism is the basis of foreign policy. Here Bialer is only half right, for, while Marxism has become a great irrelevancy, Leninism has not. As a theory of state power and a strategy for seizing and keeping it, Leninism has never been more important to the Soviets. Marxism-Leninism, Bialer says, "cannot explain [Soviet] international behavior." Without their ideology how could the Soviets justify the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia to reimpose Socialist orthodoxy? Ideology then permitted the enactment of the Brezhnev Doctrine, intended to legitimize the invasion and ward off the need for future Red Army invasions of Eastern Europe.

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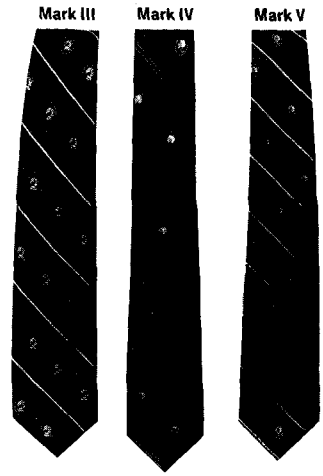

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In these circumstances of predictable Soviet expansionism abroad and increasing repressiveness at home, Bialer recommends for the United States neither cold war nor détente but rather "competitive coexistence": Yet, as far as I can see, that is President Reagan's foreign policy. Despite Bialer's attacks on the SDI program, he is quite clear that the Reagan Administration has restored the element essential to ensure a peaceful world: American military power and its credible use in situations threatening Western security. □

KEEPING THE FAITH

Joseph Sobran

Dare to Believe, by Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger (Crossroad, 241 pp., $16.95)

ORTHODOX CATHOLICISM is finding vital leaders these days, of whom Pope John Paul II is only one. The Archbishop of Paris, Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger, is among the most remarkable. Born to Polish-Jewish parents in 1926, he converted to Catholicism in his teens and became a priest. Like the Pope, he has a warm, magnetic personality and has become a familiar media presence in Europe.

Dare to Believe is a collection of his homilies and interviews. In a short preface, he expresses his fear that his words, addressed to living audiences, will suffer in the transfer to cold print. But they turn out to be well worth reading and pondering. Cardinal Lustiger has an eloquence that comes from the depths.

If any general comment can be made about talks as disparate as those collected here, it is perhaps that Lustiger is less remarkable for his orthodoxy than for the sense of intimacy with God that he conveys. His Catholicism is not an ideology; his orthodoxy, firm as it is, has its foundation in the sense of mystery.

He cites Augustine's dictum that "If you understand it, it is not God." In the age of rationalism, he says, "one called 'God' all that could not be explained. One could say that this was the Western frontier that the Eastern states would conquer little by little, in a triumphant march of reason against God. And God was like an Indian, progressively pushed away to new and still unknown territories." But "God is not the frontier of meaning to our ignorance: God is the other before Whom we are and without Whom we are not."

He asserts: "Herein lies the originality of the Jewish and Christian traditions. The One of Whom it speaks is not counted with anything, anybody, not even with the most general and fundamental categories of the human mind."

Lustiger still considers himself a Jew, and though he was not raised to be religious, he deeply appreciates Christianity's Jewish roots, as when he discusses the Last Supper as a Passover ritual. He considers the Jewish tradition as the still-living context of Christianity, not as a vestige to be discarded. "The New Testament," he says, "is incomprehensible if it is not founded on the Jewish vocation, the vocation of Israel, the vocation of Christ to the pagans. This is a fundamental given of the Christian faith which embarrassed part of the West all through its history."

Lustiger sees the Marcionite heresy as part of the West's "constant drift . . . , the desire to cut off its own historical roots." He senses alienation behind much of the West's ostensible optimism, revealed in the "progressive" disposition to justify violence as a historical necessity. "Only the other day," he says, "someone was trying to explain the assassination of President Sadat by looking for the reasons which motivated the murderers. No one looks for the motivation behind the courage of innocent victims. It is always violence which people are trying to justify."

He respects the motives of progressive hopes as "noble," but he also notes the ironic and tragic paradoxes that attend them: "People thought that the power of human reason would be enough. And they discovered that everything can be turned upside down. Pacifist ideologies beget wars, theories about collective happiness bring the Gulag, liberalism enslaves the weak to the strong, the progress of science gives birth to the atomic bomb."

This has particular pertinence to Communism: "The Marxist-Leninist empires of the Eastern countries certainly represent the most far-flung enterprise of mastery over social life ever conceived. It is at least as great and ambitious as the will to master matter as Western society developed it." The idea of science has been taken out of the study and the laboratory and applied to "the transformation of reality and social life." But "when human reason wants to take over social life, its enterprise begets totalitarianism."

Lustiger notes that though we talk of archaic societies as closed societies, "our modern societies are far more terrifying: They are tremendously spellbinding and uniformizing. . . . We are going to reach 1984 without having really understood totalitarianism. The spell is so powerful that all these good folk don't see anything any more."

Still, he doesn't despair of modernity: "Atheism, however paradoxical it may seem, is the fruit of belief, not as its dialectical opposite, but as a trial of faith." He denies that France has been paganized; he insists that its cultural roots are still largely Christian, despite its current secularism. But in seeing hope for renewal, he says that this will require heroic efforts by Christians, since "Christianity cannot be received any more as a cultural given." He quotes Léon Bloy: "This Christian people does not live off its inheritance."

In his final homily, Lustiger honors St. Thérèse of Lisieux, savoring the contrast between heads of state he has known who felt powerless to influence events and the way "a frail and unknown young girl of 24 can, from her convent, influence the destiny of the world through the secret power of her love." This is a mind worth getting to know. □

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SWIFT AGONISTES

M. D. Aeschliman

Jonathan Swift: A Hypocrite Reversed, by David Nokes (Oxford, 427 pp., $19.95)

"BASICALLY," Swift and Pope "were opposed to the sect, to be met with in all ages, which holds that the evil in the world is not in men, but between them," wrote Louis Bredvold. These "Tory satirists" believed in the primacy of what Irving Babbitt called the "internal dualism" of man versus himself as opposed to the "progressive" ideas, ascendant in their time, of the primacy of external conflicts—man versus society (or class versus class) or man versus nature: "all those schools of political thought," Bredvold went on, "which attribute the evils of our human condition exclusively to environment" and "absolve human nature from all fault." Thus the prime architect/revealer of our modern sensibility, Rousseau, urged as his "main principle, that Nature makes man happy and good, but society depraves him and renders him miserable."

The sentimentalists and *philosophes* dreamed, and dream still, as T. S. Eliot put it, "of systems so perfect that no one will need to be good." Swift was no such dreamer; he wrote as a mocker of scientism, skepticism, secularization, and the idea of collective progress.

The kind of painful but bracing self-knowledge that Swift inflicts so vividly on his readers has its source in the classical and Christian traditions that flowed through him and which he made his own. The conception of *homo duplex* could be found inchoate in Ovid's "I see and approve the good, but follow the bad," and then, fully, in St. Paul's profound Romans 7: "For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do." A classically educated, "mainline" clergyman, Swift lived with these texts all his life. And lest anyone be tempted to think these views narrow, antiquated, or irrelevant, we need only consider the testimony of the greatest writer of our age, speaking, two hundred years after Swift's death, from the depths of a Soviet slave-labor camp: "Gradually it was disclosed to me that the line separating good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either—but right through every human heart."

So much did Swift hate the falsely flattering view of human nature and history that modernists were propagating, so convinced was he of the ubiquity of human egocentricity and sin, that he went to great lengths to keep from representing himself as a paragon. As Dr. Johnson pointed out, Swift "dreaded hypocrisy" and thus, "instead of wishing to seem better, he delighted in seeming worse than he was. He went in London to early prayers, lest he be seen at church. . . . He was not only careful to hide the good which he did, but willingly incurred the suspicion of evil which he did not." Although praying and doing good works secretly have dominical authority (Matthew 6:6), and though Johnson practiced secret charity too, he censured Swift for it: "He forgot what [he] himself had formerly asserted, that [even] hypocrisy is less mischievous than open impiety." It is this point that David Nokes has chosen to emphasize in his fine new life of Swift.

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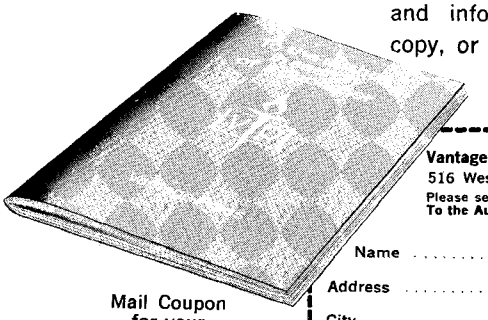

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In this, too, Swift wrote prophetically against the coming, expansive age of Rousseau. "I may be no better, but at least I am different"—how many times has such phrasing, and the appeal to "sincerity" that accompanies it, resounded in the two centuries since Rousseau used the words in the opening sentences of *The Confessions*! Swift would have none of it; he knew that he was relative and not absolute in the universe; even the lack of belief in God, in the *summum bonum* beyond us, he wrote, "is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome."

Yet out of this unflattering, rigorous realism about the relative and promiscuous self, which would seem aesthetically unpromising material—who reads Jeremiah for pleasure?—Swift made great art, with an unforgettable range, vehemence, and hilarity: "with a moral view design'd / To cure the vices of mankind; / His vein, ironically grave, / Expos'd the fool, and lash'd the knave." Like Democritus and Rabelais, Swift laughed: "Like the ever laughing sage, / In a jest I spend my rage." Yet the rage, the "fierce indignation" of his epitaph, is real and deep, as Nokes's biography shows in detail. Although Swift's final madness was due to the growing agonies of Ménière's syndrome, a degenerative torment in his ears, it deepened and intensified a temperamental asperity. His mighty wit was a terrible cross to bear. Swift was never able to be "a fool among knaves"; he saw too much, too clearly, about human motives, actions, and effects, ever to be comfortable.

Though, in retrospect, Swift's public career in England and Ireland may seem a series of triumphs, it was, as Nokes shows, to him mainly a series of humiliations, disappointments, and defeats. Though he was great good company and beloved of friends both female and male, this sense of disappointment and even of torment, deepened by the progressive deafness, haunted Swift's life.

Swift's dry but dogged religious faith gave him little joy. He saw egotistical self-delusion or exploitation in religion and philosophy as well as in politics, and in reaction against both the delusions of evangelicalism, which had recently killed a king and overturned a state, and the succeeding libertine skepticism, Swift defended a "main-line" Christianity, a *via media*, all his life; but more as soldier than as worshipper, with more duty than delight.

The alternatives to "mere Christianity" Swift found often ludicrous, clearly false, and ultimately destructive. His iconoclastic satires on scientism and Enlightenment rationalism have been highly praised; but his satire on the abstract "love of humanity" is at least as important. Describing his forthcoming *Gulliver's Travels* in a 1725 letter to Pope, Swift defied the sentimental philanthropism of his day that would soon lead to the Jacobins, Comte, and Marx: "I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities, and all my love is toward individuals. . . . I hate and detest that animal called man, although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth."

Swift was a man of an old dispensation, a celibate clergyman whose favorite Biblical books may well have been Job and Ecclesiastes, which provide few Gospel comforts. Swift's wit made enemies and incurred disappointments. His incessant rhyming of "think" and "stink" for human beings—and other rhymes less printable—flatter no one, but may be a key to humble self-knowledge, as Ernest Becker argues in *The Denial of Death*. Swift *agonistes* will always teach his reader many things, some of them sad, but almost all of them true. Nokes's biography cannot help giving a sense of how distant and different Swift's world is from ours; but Swift's major writings have a proximity and a relevance that is splendidly invigorating. □

PROMOTER OF MEANING

John Simon

Less Than One, by Joseph Brodsky (Farrar, 501 pp., $25)

ON THE evidence of *Less Than One*, a collection of essays by the poet Joseph Brodsky, there exists such a thing as poet's prose. Despite a slight overlapping, this is not the same as poetic prose, a somewhat dubious proposition, often no more than bejeweled verbiage and clangorous rhythms. Poet's prose, however, is rather like Rimbaud's definition of poetry: a prolonged, immense, systematic derangement of all the senses. Or something like the pushing aside of molecules to enter into the heart of matter, into the mind of the universe. It is a deliberate skewing of perception, so as to see around appearances into truth.

Brodsky is remarkable in many ways. He is one of that small band of foreign-born writers who have mastered English as well as, even if perhaps slightly differently from, native artists. But he came to English relatively late, and is the only such writer of major significance in verse, even if he first writes it in Russian and then translates it into an English that in no way feels like a translation. First jailed, then expelled by the Soviets—at age 32 in 1972—he has been teaching literature at several distinguished American institutions, as well as teaching himself how to write English prose as good as his already renowned Russian poetry. Thus he has achieved a small personal bridge across the world's widest, most ominous abyss.

Not that Brodsky is a mediator in any political sense: His hatred of Communist Russia—which, among its other crimes, disallowed his aging and dying parents any reunion with their only child—is matched only by his fanatical love of poetry. This love of poetry is what rattles around imperiously in the condescended-to cage of prose of this collection. It should be noted that the quality of the essays varies according to their type. Those dealing with biography and autobiography—notably the first, about Brodsky's early years, and the last, about his parents—are incomparably moving in their blend of rough-hewn truthfulness and boundless love. A similar intensity and intelligence inform the pieces about poets Brodsky has known personally, but here friendship can cloud judgment, and the ones about writers known from their work only tend to be better. But even there tendentiousness crops up: Brodsky must defend his admiration against potentially less favorable judgments. He regains his control in essays about ideas (e.g., "On Tyranny," where the Soviet system is skewered with a kind of sardonic lyricism) and places (e.g., Leningrad/St. Petersburg, which he loves, and Istanbul/Byzantium, which he hates, and where the geographical, historical, cultural ruminations stimulate even as they ramble on).

The first quality of this poet's prose is brilliance, which freely commits grand assertions and paradoxical idio-

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syncrasies in the hope of breaking up the solidified commonplaces of established wisdom and making a new world from the reshuffled shards. Take this, from the essay on Mandelstam: "A poet gets into trouble because of his linguistic, and, by implication, his psychological superiority, rather than because of his politics. A song is a form of linguistic disobedience, and its sound casts a doubt on a lot more than a concrete political system: It questions the entire existential order. And the number of its adversaries grows proportionally." Such *aperçus* are too grandiose; they border on a Rimbaldian, or more ordinary, derangement. But they also contain a smidgen of genius, a sliver of cutting truth.

This poetic mode of perception depends on—its second salient quality—the arrogant yet awesome faith in the absolute superiority of poetry to prose and, by implication, anything else this world can come up with. A recurrent thought, it is most baldly stated in the essay on the prose of Marina Tsvetaeva: "The poet, in principle, is higher than the prose writer." As elaborated in the essay on Auden, it reads: "Unlike fiction writers, poets tell us the whole story: not only in terms of their actual experiences and sentiments but

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ACCORDING TO Alun Chalfont—chairman of the House of Lords All-Party Defense Group and of the European Atlantic Group; former army officer of twenty years' experience; former Minister of State at the Foreign Office; from 1961 to 1964 defense correspondent of the London *Times*; author of several books—President Reagan's "Star Wars" speech of March 23, 1983, was "something much more than a new approach to nuclear deterrence; it was a signpost to a completely new approach to the strategic doctrines upon which Western defense and security are based." The President's Strategic Defense Initiative, Lord Chalfont believes, provides as well the catalyst for "an entirely new approach, in the period between now and the end of the century, to the central political and ideological confrontation: that between the Soviet Union and its allies on the one hand and the United States and its allies on the other." In his latest book, *Star Wars: Suicide or Survival?* (Little, Brown, $16.95), published in England last year and in this country in the spring of 1986, he dilates upon these propositions in what is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive, most persuasive, and quite simply the best exposition of SDI extant.

"To put it mildly," Lord Chalfont observes,

> "Star Wars" has had a bad press. In considering this phenomenon it is important to establish a frame of reference by means of a brief résumé of the Strategic Defense Initiative, since it is clear that some of the arguments advanced against the idea can be explained only by the existence of a serious misunderstanding of what it actually is. Only then is it possible to examine some of the more substantive objections to SDI and to test their validity, and perhaps to advance the proposition that SDI is a concept which deserves a much more sympathetic reaction than has so far been evident—especially in Western Europe.

In a concise 138 pages (plus appendices) he accomplishes this and more in a limpid and at times elegant prose that belies the technical and political complexity of the subject.

As Chalfont notes, the most bizarre aspect of the anti-SDI coalition has been the enthusiasm with which it has rallied round the concept of mutual assured destruction: "Faced with a strategic theory which offered survival as an alternative to suicide, [the enemies of SDI evinced] a strange disinclination to abandon the familiar certainties of annihilation." For the program of Star Wars is essentially a plan to alter the nature of nuclear deterrence by shifting it from the present offensive basis to a defensive one, whereby the emphasis lies on saving lives rather than avenging them; the ultimate goal being, in Lord Chalfont's words, "to devise a system of deterrence at substantially lower levels so that, in the dreadful event that deterrence should fail, the result would not be nuclear annihilation." Under the misapprehension (honest in some cases, in others disingenuous or actually dishonest) that the aim of SDI is to *do away with* deterrence altogether, Star Wars' opponents have advanced a wide array of arguments for the program's abandonment: that it is "provocative" to the Soviets; that it is in contravention of existing arms-control treaties; that it represents an escalation of the nuclear-arms race; that it would have a destabilizing, and perhaps even destructive, effect on the Western Alliance; that it is, in some vague, unspecified pantheistic sense, an insult to the Firmament; that it is, finally, an absurd science-fiction scenario that quite simply cannot work. Chapter by chapter, Chalfont refutes these challenges to conclude that "The Strategic Defense Initiative is too important and too complicated to be assailed with arguments derived from discredited strategic doctrines and based upon outmoded habits of strategic thought."

Of course Star Wars is "provocative" to Moscow, Chalfont argues: The Soviets have done a great deal of research in space-based defensive systems themselves and are reluctant to lose their advantage, which retains no guarantee under treaty; there being nothing in the ABM Treaty of 1972, the Outer Space Treaty of 1976, or the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1968 to prohibit *research* in anti-ballistic missile defense. As a non-nuclear defense system directed *at* nuclear weaponry, SDI can hardly be said to represent an acceleration of the nuclear-arms race; while the identical technology is applicable to the NATO defense forces in ways that can reduce the likelihood of the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and, by replacing the Allied strategy of graduated response with a more effective one, actually enhance the Alliance. Of the eight thousand pieces of hardware currently in orbit, the vast preponderance serve military interests. As for the argument that SDI can never provide the U.S. with a leak-proof carapace, that has never been the intention of its advocates. "The theory of the Strategic Defense Initiative is that if it were possible to devise a defensive system capable of destroying a substantial proportion of incoming ballistic missiles (say, 50 per cent or more) this would have a significant effect on the nature of deterrence." □

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. . . of language itself, in terms of the words they finally choose." What takes some of the curse—though none of the edge—off such brutal statements is Brodsky's downright mystical belief in the superiority of poetry to any poet, and in the sacred primacy of language above, or at least prior to, poetry itself. Again and again he restates and refines his notion that the structures of the language fashion the writer, that the word that chooses him (rather than vice versa) determines the flow of his thought, the shape of his verse or prose. Call it the verbal equivalent of Michelangelo's assertion that the statue is in the stone, and the sculptor merely disengages it from the marble.

Whether or not we agree with this, as it were, religion, it is inspiring to observe it guiding and fulfilling Brodsky's thinking, disengaging from the poet-essayist his most sculptured utterances. "A poem," he says in the fine essay on Montale, "is a form of the closest possible interplay between ethics and aesthetics." Still, as we gather from the essay on Tsvetaeva's prose, "a reader can be taken by the hand by prose and delivered to where he would otherwise be shoved by a poem."

This leads us to another characteristic: Brodsky's fierce partisanship and concomitant purblindness. Whichever favorite poet he is writing about in a given essay becomes—at least implicitly, but more often explicitly—the greatest of all. Akhmatova, Tsvetaeva, Mandelstam, Cavafy, and others rotate to the top, previous champions sometimes remembered, sometimes not. To Brodsky, Auden was "the greatest mind of the twentieth century"; the novelist Andrei Platonov (in one of Brodsky's favorite phrases), to say the least, the equal of Joyce, Musil, and Kafka (Proust is always conspicuously absent from these lineups); and as for Derek Walcott, he has given us "an archipelago of poems without which the map of modern literature would effectively match wallpaper." And so on and on.

It is not surprising, then, that Brodsky is at his worst when explicating one of his beloveds' poems. The 72 pages on Tsvetaeva's "New Year's Greetings" and the 52 on Auden's "September 1, 1939," are the least agreeable parts of this collection, not only because of the hail of superlatives, but also because Brodsky overinterprets wildly, free-associating to the point of making every image, line, word, and sound take on impossible multifariousness. A Strasbourg goose's liver, morbidly hypertrophic as it is, is at least palpably there; the marvels stuffed into a line of Auden's or Tsvetaeva's could not be fitted even into Shakespeare or Dante, and as often as not do not exist. But even when off the mark, Brodsky's enthusiasm is something to marvel at; the ingenuity of his very errors is astonishing.

Finally, this prose has a way of soaring into metaphysical realms where I cannot follow: "Love is essentially an attitude maintained by the infinite toward the finite. The reversal constitutes either faith or poetry." I must not forget, either, the wit that enlivens and endears page after page, or the sure aphoristic touch, as in, "By itself, reality isn't worth a damn. It's perception that promotes reality to meaning." Well, Brodsky is a superb promoter of meaning, and the essays on himself when young, on his parents, and on what used to be called St. Petersburg (ironically titled "A Guide to a Renamed City") belong in the anthology any reader carries around in his memory. Let me quote the ending of the last, about those fabled white nights: "On such nights, it's hard to fall asleep, because it's too light and because any dream will be inferior to this reality. Where a man doesn't cast a shadow, like water." I may be infected with Brodsky's disease, but I say only a poet could have written that prose. □

TELEVISION

AFRICA SKEWED

Gerard Alexander

FINALLY, the American people had an opportunity to deepen their understanding of modern Africa, to deepen it more than Meryl Streep in *Out of Africa* or a thousand African-sculpture shows ever could. And America has already been cheated out of that opportunity, first offered and then taken back by PBS, at the centerpiece of whose fall programming was a nine-week series, *The Africans*. Led by the Washington, D.C., public-television station, WETA, the $3.5-million-plus series was supposed to be a documentary carefully balanced by interviews of experts and old Africa hands. Instead, it is a nine-hour monument to its sole author, sole narrator, sole interviewer, and sole interviewee, Kenyan academic Ali Mazrui, for the last dozen years resident at the University of Michigan.

When Lynne Cheney, the new chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, saw the result of more than $600,000 in NEH grants, she protested the series' blatant biases and finally revoked the Endowment's label from the October release. And for good reason: Why should a program that describes our economic relationship with Africa as "Western sharks in search of a pound of flesh" be funded by U.S. taxpayers? Bias pervades every episode. The American slave trade and enduring Western racism are endlessly highlighted, while notorious Soviet racism, and even inter-African ethnic prejudices, are not mentioned. Muammar el-Qaddafi is lauded for achieving economic independence and for using oil "for the greater glory of Africa as well as Islam." Neither Qaddafi nor the PLO "guerrillas" he supports are described as terrorists, though Mozambique's anti-Communist Renamo rebels are labeled just that, twice. In the segment on the economy ("The Tools of Exploitation"), Western bulldozers can be seen raping Africa's "virgin" mineral lands, but the ecologically disastrous Soviet fishing trawlers, which destroy beds off Africa's west and south coasts, are nowhere shown.

In fact, the Soviet Union isn't in evidence anywhere in the series. In the six main episodes, covering war, politics, economics, and international relations, the USSR is mentioned only twice, and neither "Communism" nor "Marxism," which have brought modern Africa so much pain and death, is mentioned at all. Mazrui, a Muslim, *is* willing to take on the story of Arab slave-trading in Africa, but he proceeds to whitewash it, saying that there wasn't very much of it and, incredibly, that abolitionists' condemnation of Arab slaving was "a new low in Western cynicism."

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It would appear that an otherwise technically professional and cinematographically arresting series was hijacked by Mazrui, perhaps with the complicity of WETA's co-producer, the BBC. Mazrui is himself quick to point out his virtual domination of the work: "This is Africa through my eyes and, on the whole, through my words," he said in an interview in the spring of this year. Mazrui's political leanings are quite far to the left, even to the point where he suggests that one-party states are more appropriate than democracies to Africa's context. Economically, Mazrui is a crude mercantile socialist: Every gain by the West is a loss for Africa; Africa should keep more currency at home; Africa is a victim of the West's "continuing blueprint of exploitation," and so on.

To the further detriment of the series, Mazrui's analyses sometimes border on the historically fallacious. He blames the rise of such men as Idi Amin on Africa's forced importation of the West's regular army, an institution that in fact existed in some form previously, and was widely used in African empire-building. He accuses Britain of establishing "apartheid" systems in the Sudan, Kenya, and elsewhere, a claim that either is clearly incorrect, or shows a rather shocking misunderstanding of apartheid on Professor Mazrui's part. He further lauds the "political tranquillity" achieved in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere. Gone from history is the destruction and dislocation caused by Nyerere's forced collectivization of the 1970s. Mazrui does not even have an eye for the ironic twist: Even as he glorifies the Africa of the pre-colonial era, the camera pans over a modern local chieftain seeing his people through eyeglasses and speaking to them through a microphone.

Africa is so physically lovely that the scenes themselves can barely help being beautiful. And yet the awesome sunsets, the animals in their splendor, the quiet children of the mountains are overcome by the author's politicization. These ideas would matter much less if they were confined to a dusty ivory tower. But they are ideas that African leaders have turned into policy, to the profound and visible detriment of those landscapes, animals, and, especially, children. The sad fact is that Ali Mazrui's politics are well in tune with those of such tyrants as Nyerere and Idi Amin, to whom Mazrui was in fact once an advisor. No good, and much potential bad, comes from the propagation of these historical falsehoods, with or without the beautiful scenery, and with or without the endorsement of Mrs. Cheney's National Endowment. □

SOUND ON DISC

JAZZ & POP— THE REAL LEGACY

Ralph de Toledano

THOUGH THE critics have said it, the observation remains valid: America's only significant contribution to music has been jazz and the popular song. Both came into being at the turn of the century and reached their apotheosis in the Twenties, Thirties, and early Forties. Both held themselves at arm's length from the "serious" composers, who, with the exception of William Grant Still, feebly echoed a European tradition, for the most part reduced to a whimper. (Today that tradition has given us what? Pierre Boulez!) Popular song moved with its most talented and ebullient composers from Tin Pan Alley, a sparkling thoroughfare, to the musical-comedy stage. Jazz, which had come to a focus in the musical melting pot of New Orleans, overflowed into the North when Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels padlocked the whorehouses in 1917. Both fell victim to television and the dismal uproar of rock.

Now *gaudeamus igitur*. The Smithsonian Institution, which has reissued much of our recorded legacy of music, has now devoted six LPs to *American Popular Song*, encompassing six decades of popular songs and singers, accompanied by an overview of the genre in a 152-page booklet (Smithsonian Collection of Recordings, Washington, D.C. 20560). Here, in a selection from an inexhaustible catalogue, is the music that rang from nightclub and stage and was echoed by a million radios: the best of Harold Arlen, Rodgers & Hart, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin, Vernon Duke, and a host of others, enunciated by singers of less *embonpoint* than their operatic cousins—singers once household names but now remembered only in pallid TV specials. Here the sense, the sensibility, and the sentimentality of America is expressed—a song whose modalities, when studied, are far more subtle and sophisticated than many would believe.

There may be some quarrel over the inclusion or exclusion of this or that song, this or that singer. I found it odd that there should be so much of Fred Astaire, whose genius lay elsewhere, and nothing of Maxine Sullivan —or that the Kurt Weill-Maxwell Anderson "September Song" should have been assigned to Frank Sinatra rather than heard in Walter Huston's incomparable rendition. But there is compensation for the set's sins of omission and commission in the inclusion of "I Got It Bad and That Ain't Good," that lovely juxtaposition of Duke Ellington's music and Paul Webster's lyrics. *Gaudeamus*, indeed, for *American Popular Song*, a glorious compendium that should be played and replayed.

DEDICATED small companies—and to a far lesser extent the recording giants—have kept alive the jazz performances of the past in reissues for the small legion of *aficionados*, and the Meritt Society is an honored member of this sodality. Meritt (P.O. Box 156, Hicksville, N.Y. 11802) issues its records by subscription, but the purchase of one of its records makes you a member. In addition, Meritt (as Marlor Productions) contributes through a

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2. Mail subscription (paid and/or requested)	114,106	113,975
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number of subsidiary labels for commercial distribution.

Now Meritt has issued a series of Teddy Wilson solos, never before available to the general public—only five hundred copies were pressed in 1938—which he cut for his short-lived School for Pianists. Wilson won fame and some fortune as the pianist whose solid yet elegant improvisations gave their character to the Benny Goodman Trio and Quartet. He also made innumerable recordings with a Who's Who of great jazz sidemen, and vocalists like Billie Holiday and Mildred Bailey. The solos for the School for Pianists sides are a distillation of his jazz style and demonstrate the intricacies and varieties of his improvisational genius.

But I suspect that *Classic Small Groups* (Meritt No. 6) will bring greater pleasure to jazz lovers. The reissues in this album offer a sampling of the music and musicians heard on New York's 52nd Street, in basement clubs like the Famous Door and the Onyx, before and during the swing era. The small bands of that period preserved, extended, and refined the jazz of New Orleans as it was modified by the Chicago school. Unlike the stylized and often rigid "big-band" jazz, the music of these small bands relied on head arrangements, collective improvisation, and the instrumental solo. And they took this music into the recording studios, where they were limited by the three-minute stretch of the old shellacs but in which they recaptured the spirit of their nightly stints.

The Reed Album (Meritt No. 11) is more of the above, but it features such clarinet and sax men as Rod Cless, Peewee Russell, Bud Freeman, and Irving Fazola. (When will someone reissue Ben Pollack's "Song of the Islands" with Fazola's long and lyrical solo?) For the most part, this album harks back to the *ancien régime* of small-band jazz, but it also includes some early Goodman and Jimmy Dorsey. *The Piano Album* (Meritt No. 4) is a sampler of jazz piano's greats: Jelly Roll Morton, Fats Waller, Willie "The Lion" Smith, Art Tatum, and the now-forgotten Mary Lou Williams, who played with the Andy Kirk band. It runs the gamut of pianistic styles, from blues to stride, with *brio*.

What is significant about these Meritt reissues is that they capture the essence of jazz in its last, perhaps greatest, period. These records were made at a time when the big bands were in full swing—no pun intended—providing us with moments of excitement and creativeness. But jazz is fundamentally the cross-pollination of individual musicians playing together and against each other in small groups. That kind of collective inspiration is lost when the unit exceeds six or seven men—or when it is confined to tightly knit arrangements. Jelly Roll Morton wrote arrangements for his great recording dates, but these were little more than guidelines, not set pieces—and the same can be said for Louis Armstrong's "Hot Five" and "Hot Seven" recordings. The greatness of Duke Ellington's orchestra in the 1930s was that his structured arrangements still gave free play to the genius of his soloists—and I will return to this at a later time. □

THE GIMLET EYE

PLAYIN' GITAR ON THE MTV

D. Keith Mano

A ROCK CONCERT is hardly what you'd call interpretive art—except in the narrow sense that it imitates rage or sexual rush or some such dilated emotional mode. Rock gigs are pure dance: sort of an aerobic workout for your cheapest sensibility. This isn't Frank Sinatra telling me about his way. Verbal life in rock has been reduced by amplification to the mere emphatic. Robert Hass, writing about poetic meter, said that "rhythm is always revolutionary ground . . . the place where the organic rises to abolish the mechanical and where energy announces the abolition of tradition. New rhythms are new perceptions." But by 1980 or so the rock beat was about as radical and new as a union checkoff privilege. Its range of statement had contracted. And then came MTV.

In fact, rock needed a visual backup. Historically, the force and peculiar enchantment of music came from openness, from deep, abstract suggestion. But rock had turned repetitious and indeterminate: one gross mouth or other sucking a microphone head. It no longer suggested very much at all.

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Worse yet, the marketing was imprecise. Video adds image and plot—and a close-up, missing from row Z, of personality. With video, tension and resonance are drawn from visual narrative, as sudden bass chords in the horror film, no matter their intrinsic musical value, will be charged with suspense. Rock has become, well, program music. Since, however, a video is made, in most cases, *after* the song, that program content will tend to be both meretricious and barely germane. Like playing *Swan Lake* over *Frankenstein*.

Celebrated singers, evidently, can get by on performance footage alone. The rock concert, after all, has an in-built if hokey dramatic structure: it is shaped to approximate some pagan religious sacrifice—and videos express that form better even than live participation can. Stage and altar. Ecstatic victim on the hem of physical disintegration. And a rock audience concelebrates: it is not passive. Arms stretch toward the juking eucharist up there. Clearly a rock performer is meant to be in danger. His voice has shredded. He is approaching a nervous catastrophe. The rubberneck camera gossips about perspiration, glazed sight: it can isolate on that worshipful, ominous crowd. A rock star, at least symbolically, is singing to hold back death.

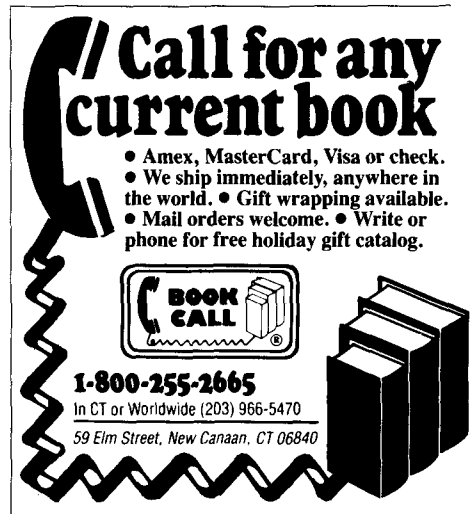
But, in the more typical video, concert film clips are intercut with some trumped-up fictional story line: romance or adventure or cartoon surrealism. Not a tone poem: tone prose instead, and most of it fifth-rate at that. Videos have caused a major adjustment, one that might roughly parallel the silent/talkie film transition. With all this melodrama around, your rock honcho has had to become a competent actor as well or die. We're encouraging the new generation of singer-pantomimes (since MTV dialogue is just lip-synced lyric). Several—Sting, Madonna, Prince—have gone from their video apprenticeship to stage and film success. Today, when producers are more interested in box office and TV Q than in talent, rock people, because they dominate the largest ticket-buying age group, have crept and will continue to creep into every area of pop performance art. As if they weren't pervasive enough as it is. A dismal prospect that ranks with casting Norman Mailer as King Lear.

The durable impression is one of spiteful grossness. Male rock faces are ugly and swollen. A cauliflower nose with rotted septa. Pocky, cheesecloth skin. Lips that belong on an uninflated swim ring. You wonder if constant exposure to loud sound will blunt the human visage. Long hair can make a rock star look like some aged (they *are* often old) and tasteless transvestite: or better yet, like Tony Perkins in his mother wig rushing down to stab Janet Leigh.

But then, rock has no traffic with traditional comeliness. Rock attitudes crystallize in the leer: savage and crass and self-mutilative. Rock is the one performance medium that will consistently sass its audience. And yet this pose is attractive in the extreme to young women. Underneath all lies the presumption that rock is inexorable, a creative and constitutional need, a prophet's cry. Face will distort: voice is more shriek than sung line. These people are in *pain* for us and should be cherished. A rock star suffers.

Because, of course, he has more *sensitivity*. The prevailing theme in all rock videos is alienation. Rock star as rejected child or lover. As solitary, misunderstood innovator. As benevolent threat to a mechanical state (fascist police who look rather like Ed Meese patrol the set). Violent on stage, he is passive in video drama. This image, though masturbatory, has some aspect of truth. Never have artists been more separate: their inordinate fame, wealth, drug use have driven them into luxurious purdah. Rock people probably cannot (who could?) square this privileged rank with real worth. There is little comedy on MTV. In part because humor requires surprise and the video requires rote repetition. In part, too, because self-irony would jeopardize seriousness—and a rock singer's frail status as passionate and misprized *naïf*.

But the production value is elegant: holographics, computer animation, special effect without any particular special cause. The skill and cunning drawn from a quarter-century of TV commercial-art design have been diverted into rock video. These are selling tools: the singer is a brand-name product. Indeed you can seldom tell where MTV commercial and MTV video begin or end. Both advertise. Both package and promote. And, for that reason, MTV announces the death of rock as an important social influence: whether to corrupt or shock or teach. You do not ally yourself with TV and escape leveling. What Iggy Pop, say, could do in his semi-private concert is unthinkable when this message has been brought to you by Coke or Tampax. The rocker is a TV star first now. You know his face (before MTV I presumed most of these people were black). And rock is just another mass-media staple—engrossing, well engineered, more pleasant perhaps, but essentially sterile. □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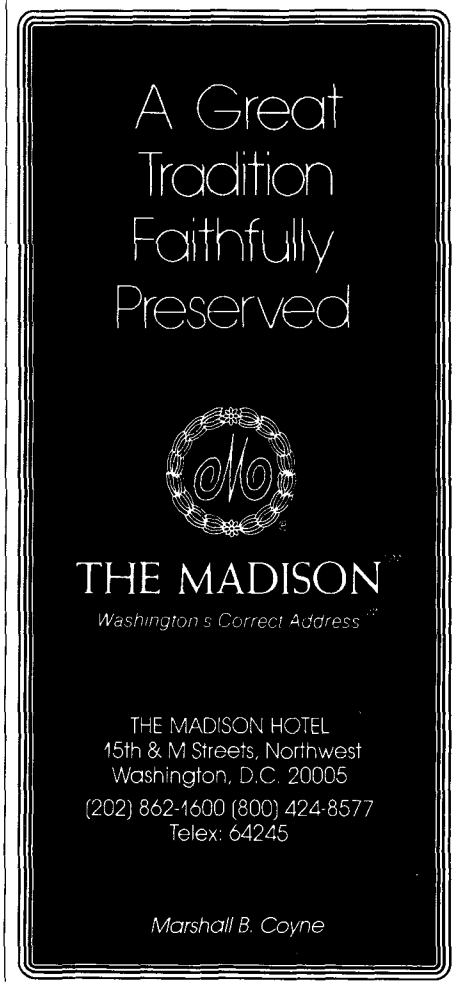

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

Churches on the Wrong Road, edited by the Right Reverend Stanley Atkins and the Reverend Theodore McConnell (Regnery Gateway, 270 pp., $15.95)

ABORTION, FEMINISM, homosexualism, apartheid, euthanasia, genetic engineering, the nuclear-arms race, the redistribution of wealth: Should churches take official positions on these controversies, on which sincere men differ? Answers came from a startling source when, a couple of years ago, a gentleman in his mid-eighties appeared unannounced in the offices of a publisher, deposited a huge box of unsorted manuscripts, and disappeared from the scene. These papers turned out to be essays by well-known writers on religious subjects, written in answer to the above question; Bishop Atkins and Father McConnell edited and shaped the amorphous material into this book. (The concerned gentleman who had put the question to the writers was Quintard Joyner, a retired lawyer and son of an Episcopal clergyman; he was assisted by Edmund Fuller, who has provided an introduction to this volume.) The result is ten hard-hitting essays that accuse the churches of losing their integrity through their obsession with divisive secular issues, and of deserting their eschatological and religious function in favor of rampant politicization. The wide spectrum represented in the collection would indicate that the infection has spread to all mainline denominations: The authors include two priests of the Church of England, two Roman Catholics, two Episcopalians, two Presbyterians, and two who do not declare their affiliations. Several of the essays present historical and Biblical examinations of the God-and-Caesar division, and one writes of the new "civil religion." Russell Kirk objects to "the imposition of private political prejudices on the whole church," and the Jesuit James Schall charges an invasion of political ideology and the twisting of doctrine to serve so-called "liberation theology." Stephen Tonsor points out that Christianity offers no political, social, or economic solutions to the ills of this world—that it is all about something quite different. Gerhart Niemeyer claims that members of the clergy who support revolutionary causes thereby embrace a concept of evil that departs from Biblical teaching. What the book states, most convincingly, is something that is needed today by those countless grim and frustrated pew-sitters who, as the Reverend U. E. Simon says, have capitulated "for the sake of peace." H. N. KELLEY

The Iowa Baseball Confederacy, by W. P. Kinsella (Houghton Mifflin, 310 pp., $16.95)

NO ONE WILL ever accuse W. P. Kinsella of yanking his starting pitchers too soon. In *The Iowa Baseball Confederacy* Mordecai "Three Finger" Brown of the Chicago Cubs and "Arsenic" O'Reilly of the minor-league Iowa Baseball Confederacy All-Stars go the distance in a 2,614-inning pitching duel in Big Inning, Iowa, that lasts from July 4 to August 12, 1908. This fantasy baseball novel, a worthy successor to Kinsella's *Shoeless Joe*, combines favorite Kinsellan elements (an Iowa setting, a father-son baseball bond, Indian mythology, gentle parody of organized religion, reincarnation, magic) to make a world and a story so fantastic that only an artist as gifted as Kinsella could hold it all together. Gideon Clarke, the protagonist, is a spurned baseball seer who has inherited from his eccentric father knowledge about the Iowa Baseball Confederacy, the exhibition game the Confederacy played against the 1908 Cubs, and a flood, like the one in the Bible, that totally washed away both the town of Big Inning and all memory of it and of the IBC. His monomania about proving the historicity of his knowledge leads Gideon to make a magical passage through a "crack in time" back to July 4, 1908, when his hometown of Onamata is once again Big Inning and the IBC All-Stars are preparing to play the Cubs. As the game progresses, Gideon discovers that there is more to the contest than the pride of the ball teams. A centuries-old Indian warrior named Drifting Away, whose wife was murdered by white men, had a "power vision" about baseball because "baseball is the one single thing the white man has done right." Drifting Away manipulates the game in favor of the Confederacy in an effort to do the penance that will reincarnate his wife. Gideon's falling in love with a beautiful woman named Sarah (who happens to be one of four partial reincarnations that are about to reunite to form Drifting Away's wife) brings him into deadly conflict with Drifting Away and thrusts the novel toward an ingenious and bittersweet conclusion. In witnessing the game Gideon realizes his dream but learns that "accomplishing your heart's desire is not all as wonderful as you expected." The reader comes to appreciate Kinsella's theory about the goal of fiction, as expressed by a story-telling character in the novel: "It's the story that counts, Gid. Once it's been told it's as good as true." MIKE SHANNON

COMBEE

(Continued from page 42)

in the *Federalist*, "Why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do?" Some states refused to ratify until a bill of rights with guarantees of religious liberty was adopted, and others ratified with the condition that a bill of rights would be added later.

Madison was elected to the new House of Representatives in 1789. By this time the man now known as the Father of the Constitution was convinced that "all essential rights, particularly the rights of Conscience in the fullest latitude . . . etc.," ought to be protected by specific constitutional amendments. Washington, the new President, was convinced now, too. On August 8, 1789, Virginia Baptists, who had finally supported ratification of the Constitution on the premise that a bill of rights would be added, wrote to Washington, praising him as "our Hero" and expressing confidence in him as President, but repeating their concern about lack of specific guarantees of religious liberty in the Constitution:

> When the Constitution first made its appearance in Virginia, we . . . had unusual strugglings of mind, fearing that the liberty of conscience (dearer to us than property and life) was not sufficiently secured. . . . But amidst all the inquietudes of mind, our consolation arose from this consideration, the plan must be good, for it bears the signature of a tried, trusty friend; and if religious liberty is rather insecure in the Constitution "the administration will certainly prevent all oppression, for a Washington will preside."

In reply, Washington wrote of his recollection "that the religious society of

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which you are members, have been throughout America, uniformly, and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty." He offered this assurance:

> . . . if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, and that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution.

In accordance with the letter and spirit of his assurances to the Baptists, the President supported Madison's move to amend the Constitution with a specific provision for separation of church and state.

In 1791 the requisite number of states had approved, and the Bill of Rights became the law of the land. Thomas Armitage, a century later, wrote in his *History of the Baptists*:

> Thus, the contemned, spurned, and hated old Baptist doctrine of soul-liberty, for which blood had been shed for centuries, was not only engrafted into the organic law of the United States, but for the first time in the formation of a great nation it was made its chief cornerstone.

In 1802, Thomas Jefferson replied to Connecticut Baptists who had praised their "beloved President" and desired encouragement in their struggle for complete separation of church and state in Connecticut. He gave the classic statement of the meaning of the First Amendment:

> Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence the act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should "make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," thus building a wall of separation between church and state.

By the time the First Amendment was adopted, prohibiting Congress from passing religious laws, only four states had any laws worth noting "establishing" religion. By 1833, these were completely gone. In that year, final victory came in the struggle for separation of church and state in Massachusetts, where connection of church and state was so ingrained that John Adams once said that it would be as impossible to "change the religious laws of Massachusetts as the movements of the heavenly bodies." Here, too, Elder John Leland and his fellow Baptists played a decisive role in repealing a law permitting use of tax money to pay religious teachers.

The victory for full freedom of religion in America at the national and state levels was not a victory against Christianity. To the contrary, as James Madison said, "Religion flourishes in greater purity, without than with the aid of government." The phenomenal growth of Christianity in America in the century after adoption of the First Amendment bears Madison out.

The nineteenth century saw such a surge in Christian growth that it is considered the "great century" of evangelism. "Because of a combination of geographic expansion, inner vitality, and the effect upon mankind as a whole," concluded Kenneth Scott Latourette, the late Yale scholar of church history, the nineteenth century "constituted the greatest century which Christianity had thus far known." □

COXE

(Continued from page 44)

But there's more at stake than shakes, lumber, and steel.

Three years ago, U.S. detectors in Alaska spotted a Russian nuclear sub heading under the polar icecap. That sub has the potential of firing missiles from Canada's Beaufort Sea that wouldn't be detected by any existing American warning system.

Furthermore, Russian bombers already have the potential to fly across the Pole and launch cruise missiles over the Beaufort Sea that would reach American soil before detection by any satellite or radar system currently in operation.

It is this new northern threat that was the basis for the Mulroney-Reagan deal on beefed-up Arctic radar installations, an agreement announced just after Mulroney's election. But those radars only replace outdated DEW Line systems that hadn't been modernized in three decades. What's needed now is advanced sonar devices in the Beaufort Sea and the Davis Strait. Even SDI will need a Canadian commitment to plug all the holes in the North.

The Administration wants a bigger, and sustained, Canadian participation in the upgrading of Arctic warning systems. That involvement—fiercely opposed by the Canadian Left—is part of the attraction of a free-trade deal that would integrate the two nations' economies and, in effect, their defenses.

If the protectionist Democrats manage to sabotage Canada-U.S. trade and the free-trade talks, all hope of greater Canadian involvement in joint defense projects disappears. □

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NICK DANILOFF ON OUR MIND

NEW YORK, SEPT. 17

CONCERNING THE Daniloff affair, a few observations:

1. It isn't easy to figure out what the Soviet Union is up to. If what the gang over there wanted was as simple as the release of its spy Gennadi Zakharov, the Soviets would have gone at it in another way. By acting so flagrantly against an American journalist so flagrantly the victim of a setup, the Soviet Union has attracted attention to Zakharov he would never otherwise have gotten. Why didn't they just let Zakharov get convicted, and then a few months later, as happened in 1979, trade him for a few dissidents? The way in which the Kremlin has played this argues against that happy arm-in-arm march toward the end of the rainbow together that the Soviet Union has been promoting in various cultural and political theaters ever since the Geneva Summit of last November.

2. In a word, the Soviet move is just plain stupid, to judge from what it is that the Soviet Union desires, namely maximum pressure on the United States to stall on our Strategic Defense Initiative. Speculation necessarily takes one to the inner politics of the Kremlin. It is by no means inconceivable that an arm of the Kremlin—the KGB, most likely—undertook the frameup and publicized the results in order to put a different arm of the Kremlin on the spot.

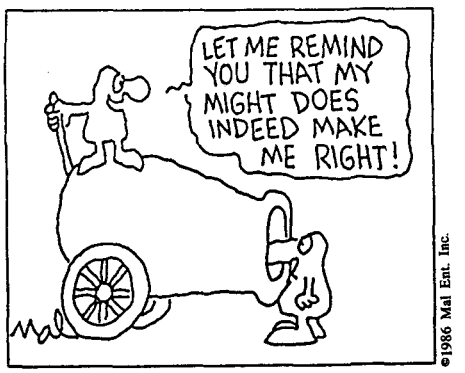
We must always bear in mind that the majority of Russians, as distinguished from the majority of Russian intelligentsia, believe what is told them, and *Izvestia* and Soviet television have been busy broadcasting the obvious guilt of Nick Daniloff. It is generally correct to assume that the Kremlin is united, even as it is generally safe to assume that the Vatican is united. But there are factions everywhere, and in the Soviet Union we may be seeing in action a faction in very high gear.

3. Whatever the division within the Kremlin, there is certainly corresponding division within the Reagan Administration. Every day the emphasis seems to change, first in the direction of toughness, next in the direction of conciliation. Mr. Reagan, when he addressed the subject on his way back from Santa Barbara, California, was bluntly outspoken in saying there would be no "trade-off," Zakharov (who is guilty) in exchange for Daniloff (who is innocent).

But on Wednesday, State Department press officer Bernard Kalb, a gentleman of very great sophistication, uttered the following ominous words: "The objective here is to win the release of Nick Daniloff, rather than engage in retaliatory actions." But the objective is not merely to win the release of Nick Daniloff. Presumably we could do that before midnight, by giving the Communists back their spy. Our objective is to get back Daniloff without giving anything to the Soviet Union it does not now have. And how can we effect this without retaliatory action?

Such as? Well, one way would have been canceling the "town meeting" scheduled to take place in Latvia. The whole idea of a "town meeting" within the Soviet Union is something like a Black Mass, but we got together a pretty impressive American delegation, including Senator Bill Bradley, Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle, Robert McFarlane, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, and Jeane Kirkpatrick. Clearly the Soviets wished this town meeting to take place. Its cancellation would have bothered them and would have been interpreted as an act of retaliation.

What else? One is reminded that, last year, Caspar Weinberger remarked that 980 Soviet representatives were in the United States, many under diplomatic immunity, while the United States has, over there, only 276 representatives. Most of theirs are KGB agents, though it doesn't really make much difference, in dealing with the Soviet official, whether he is a KGB agent or not. A member of the KGB is merely another Soviet Communist trained in specific artifices. Stalin wasn't a KGB agent but did enough harm without that special training. A Soviet diplomat is in America not to protect Soviet tourists, but to damage America. Said Weinberger: Why don't we cut down Soviet representation? And he made that suggestion a year before Daniloff. If we were to act now, it would be viewed as retaliatory in nature. So what, if it is an objective we desire?



But we could get much more serious than that. We could freeze agricultural shipments; why, we could even close our eyes and pretend that the Soviet Union is South Africa.

Unhappily, Mr. Reagan is in a spot, but he needs to remember that just as his policy has not been to get our hostages in Lebanon back at any cost, so it can't be now primarily our objective to get poor Mr. Daniloff back. □

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU WERE THEY?

NEW YORK, SEPT. 22

THE OTHER day, on television, facing three gentlemen of the moderate Left, I was asked, "Would you, if you were a black South African, join the African National Congress?" I (after pausing? I do not remember) answered, "Yes." Next question, "Would you resort to violence?" Answer, "Yes." Suddenly the program was over. No opportunity to pursue the story line. But it is worth pursuing, by Americans who wish to know (hateful word) empathically what it is like to be a black South African.

To the extent possible, let us set aside any special knowledge we have, for instance, of the kind of life led by most black Africans. If the average black South African were taken on a tour of the nations to the north he would discover few oases of personal liberty. The dark continent continues very dark, bloody, poor, corrupt, pestilential. Perhaps after such a tour, the black South African would ruminate on the advantages of the relative political stability in South Africa. After all, a lot of black South Africans are in South Africa because they fled their homelands.

But that is to ignore the argument, really. Although there is liberal movement by

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the white South African government, and some black intellectuals residing in South Africa might conclude that so long as there is movement there is hope, in fact white South Africa moves very slowly at the political level. The black South African might understandably conclude that there is no substantial movement, and that therefore the time has come when civil disobedience, leading to civil war, is justified.

We are bound to focus on our own experience. The Declaration of Independence is viewed by some scholars as an expression of resentment by colonists over the discrimination against them by contrast with the liberties enjoyed by Englishmen who lived in their homeland. Such scholars hold that the Declaration did not, therefore, enunciate metaphysical absolutes about liberty and equality. But there are others who, while admitting that any author of a declaration calling for equality who also owned slaves and had no intention of getting rid of them faced philosophical difficulties, conclude that nevertheless the universalism of the Declaration inspires peoples everywhere. And it is not easily maintained that the offenses of George III against the American colonies were greater than those of the white government of South Africa against the black population.

So then, does that add up to a summons to join the African National Congress?

Here one asks about alternatives, and it is unfortunately the case that there aren't any solid alternatives in South Africa. It is merely one more country in which the Left has succeeded in consolidating the effective power of the opposition, even as it is happening in Chile, and has happened all over the world. When those disgusted with Chiang Kai-shek and the corrupt entourage that gave the Nationalists so bad a name, until they shrived themselves in Taiwan, sought to rebel they had very little alternative than to join up with Mao Tse-tung. It was so in Cuba, when moderates made the awful mistake of encouraging Fidel Castro; and to an extent in Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas succeeded in obscuring their strategic design for a militarized, ideologized Marxist state.

But what else does one do in South Africa, if one is black and as resentful as our forefathers? The African National Congress is most certainly directed by Communists, but that is not what black Africans are focusing on today. No doubt those who hold seminars on the subject in the shanties are asking, What is it the Communists can do to the black Africans that would be worse than what the white government is doing? The Communists can do no worse than to deny us rights we do not enjoy, they will say.

They would be wrong, of course. And if the ANC, in its present ideological composition, ends up running black Africa, misery will increase, not diminish. But that does not answer the question: Can you reasonably expect a desperate black South African to do anything else?

But if I had had more time on that television program I think I'd have said that I'd join the ANC because to do so harmonizes with an impulsive nature. If I had resources as a black South African, what I would do is leave the country. But it is hard to expect of those who do not—the overwhelming majority—indefinite docility to a government that will not give them what no American would agree to do without. □

BEWARE THE MILITANTS

LONDON, SEPT. 24

THE LABOUR PARTY in England has problems similar to those of the Democratic Party in America, though England's problems are more desperate than our own because the positions of its extremists are extremer than our own. When we think of extremism in America we think of, oh, Bella Abzug and John Kenneth Galbraith, and although it is prudent to assume that if either became the chief of government in America, the Republic would last about a fortnight after the inauguration, it is also pretty safe to assume that no such thing is likely to happen. In Great Britain, the problem isn't with socialist romantics, but rather with a very hard-bitten set that doesn't have control of the Labour Party, but that leaves the Labour Party, in the absence of its support, powerless.

The Militant Tendency (we do not joke: that is what they call themselves) are "Trotskyists," and although Trotsky's works are given out to anyone who comes close to their base of operations, it is doubtful that if you stopped at random one of the eight thousand members on the street and asked him three questions that reached into Trotsky's theories you would come out learning much about Trotsky. The Militants use Trotsky in the way the Third World uses Marx. You can butcher away as you like, if only you float a banner above your party with a label on it that once attracted the hard intellectual thought: and UN types will say that you are in communion with a great ideological movement.

Well, what would the Militants do? Their projection of things to come is roughly as follows. Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party will lose the next election to a coalition of Labour and Alliance (itself a coalition of Social Democrats who split from Labour, and the old Liberal Party). The new Labour Party will rule for a while, but will do nothing to satisfy the cravings of those within the Labour Party (the Militants) with fire in the belly about reform. The new administration will not be able to come up with one million new jobs (14 per cent of British labor is unemployed), and, in the general chaos, fresh elections will be called. The Conservatives will win these elections (I am continuing as the narrator of the Militants' scenario), and, face to face with a desperate domestic situation, they will institute a "Bonapartist" regime. By that is meant that a strongman, Napoleon-style, will take over and begin to run things. Ah, but that is the moment for the Militants: They will seize power and, with or without the shedding of blood, undertake to implement their program. Which is?

Just to begin with, they will abrogate ties with NATO. They will nationalize the banks and the insurance companies, and everything else that vaguely interrupts their vision. (Oh, yes, they will abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords.)

It is in one sense laugh-in time, if we focus only on what it is that the Militants would like to accomplish and what it is that they would bring on if they had their way. But it is all a little less than entirely ludicrous, because the Militants' hold on the Labour Party is a little like the bloodstain's hold on Lady Macbeth. For all that Neil Kinnock parades his intention of excreting these crazies, he cannot do this and still hope to achieve power, because although the membership is not large, the Militants' influence is organizationally significant, much as Lenin's was significant on the assembly dominated by Kerensky. The city of Liverpool is ruled by Militants; they take in, in revenue, about a quarter of the money spent annually by Labour; an estimated thirty members of the Parliament are Militants.

MR. KINNOCK is given to periodic denunciations of the extremes in his party, designed to reassure the majority of the British that they are doing less than committing suicide by voting Labour, and to a certain extent he has succeeded: The polls show that whereas a few months ago Alliance voters were divided as to which party they preferred to lead a coalition government, they are now inclined, by 11 points, to make common cause with the Labour Party.

All of this might be dismissed as a very bad dream, except that it leaves the observer wondering, wondering. Great Britain, by most standards, is deemed a civilized state, yet the principal opposition party is in favor of what really amounts to unilateral surrender to the Soviet Union (unilateral nuclear disarmament equals the end of NATO equals the end of the U.S. umbrella equals the probable end of the political independence of Western Europe). If that much can happen to the party of Bevin, Attlee, and Gaitskell, what is to stop it all from going further? □

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ANCIENT COINS of the Caesars. Silver Antoninianus, circa 185-270 A.D. Guaranteed authentic, in very fine condition. Each coin depicts a Roman emperor in clear detail and comes with a full description of origin and significance. A unique history lesson. Send $59.95 each to P.O. Box 1166, Massapequa, N.Y. 11758 or call Rich Edginton, 800-542-4685, with credit card. (30-day return if not completely satisfied.)

SRI LANKAN MASKS, $36, request photos, McCoy Imports, Cold Spring Road, Liberty, N.Y. 12754.

DOCTORATES IN ABSENTEE MANAGEMENT, Siamese poetry, polo, yodeling, or 36 other areas. Just $13 including free college T-shirt. Write for free school catalogue and get free varsity letter in rugby: Fergle University, Box 2505F, Cincinnati, Ohio 45201.

Vacation

FLORIDA—DISNEY CONDO for rent. Sleeps six, washer/dryer, pool, hot tub, tennis court, special rates. 314-487-0184.

CANCUN—LUXURY TIMESHARE on Caribbean at Sheraton Hotel. Sleeps 4. Choice of December 13-20, $1,100 or January 10-17, $1,500. Call 703-882-3069.

VACATION AT OCEAN VILLAGE on Hutchinson Island, Southern Florida's finest east-coast resort community, in unspoiled, uncrowded Fort Pierce, sailfish capital of the world. Luxurious, spacious 2- and 3-bedroom ocean-front condominiums with panoramic views of ocean and inland waterway; golf, tennis, heated pools, ¾-mile private beach, gourmet restaurant. 45 minutes from Palm Beach International Airport, 90 minutes from Epcot-Disney World. $2,500 to $2,900 per month, 10 to 40% discount for multi-month and/or off-season rentals. J. R. Chewning, P.O. Box 15398, Biltmore Forest, N.C. 28813-0398.

TO STALWART *NR* PROPHETS seeking affordable detachment; erstwhile media-studies professor offers superior lodging in spectacular Rockies cowtown/ski center. For particulars: Owner E. L. Howe at P.O. Box 81, Silver Cliff, Colo. 81249 or Mgr. Peggy Rafferty at 303-783-2354 or 783-9243.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

SEATTLE-AREA engineering professional and U.W. lecturer is Protestant, tall, and still a bachelor, has interests in books, words, singing, and exploration on wheels, wings, water, and walks. Has goals in Christian reconstruction, seeks fellowship with virtuous, versed, vivacious, venturesome, and tall lady acquainted with grace. Introduce yourself or perhaps a friend. "Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful." Write NR Box 4346.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, Patrick J. Buchanan, from John E. Bell, Creve Coeur, Mo.

RODMAN SNELLING: Happy second anniversary, you paleoconservative. All my love, your loyal opposition.

FEMININE, DOMESTIC, SOUTHERN, professional, relocatable lady, considered attractive; survivor who believes in capitalism, democracy, self-reliance; enjoys history, politics, art, travel, social life. Wishes to meet non-smoking, attractive, Christian (any sect), politically conservative, successful gentleman (45–70), for possible life together. Write NR Box 4378.

WIDOW, 60ish, needs widower for sincere correspondence, gentle conversation, and quiet companionship, non-smoker, Protestant. Write NR Box 4375.

CATHOLIC MALE, 28, shy, M.A., seeks a devout Catholic woman. Interests include baseball, religion, reading, and marriage. P.O. Box 359, Ludlow, Mass. 01056.

PALM DESERT, CALIF. Gentleman golfer, 64, healthy, happy, of good humor, seeks new friends for coming winter season. Interests besides golf are lap swimming, languages, social bridge. Nonsmoker, sober, solvent, and solo. Seeks educated gracious lady WASP with similar background and interests. Write NR Box 4379.

EXILED CALIFORNIAN long stranded in Manhattan, returning for good to wine country next year, looking for pretty girl, 20s, who hates city living, loves reading, children, cultivating garden. Write NR Box 4380.

CHARTER-YACHT CAPTAIN/OWNER, 47, 6'1", seeking trim, athletic woman with a love for sailing, nature, and a non-materialistic lifestyle. N.Y.-Va. area. Photo. Write NR Box 4360.

NEW JERSEY SHORE sports-loving, athletic, pretty lady, widow, enjoys travel, fine dining, theater, seeks comparable successful man, 50+, to share above. Write NR Box 4371.

NORTHERN NEW JERSEY—ENGINEER, 26, Jewish, conservative, interested in literature, politics, and music. Seeks female counterpart for serious relationship. Photo appreciated. Write NR Box 4372.

SLIM, ATTRACTIVE LADY, 49, educated, diverse, healthy. Seeks congenial, secure, healthy gentleman over 50 for sharing travel, learning, nature, companionship. Write NR Box 4373.

SOUTHEAST M.D., 31, handsome, athletic, in coastal Georgia, enjoys culture, music, and ocean adventures. Seeking attractive, educated woman, 22–35, in Southeast area to spend considerable free time with. Write NR Box 4374.

YACHTSMAN, youthful 52, 6', 185 lbs., San Diego. Likes classical music, bicycling, fine dining, and coastal cruising aboard 40' ketch. Seeks unencumbered non-smoking lady 35–50 to share above with possibility of long cruises in the future. Write NR Box 4350.

SINGLE NEW JERSEY LAWYER, 33, family values, wishes to meet Catholic lady, age 23–31, also never married. Interests include athletics, jogging, theater, politics. Write NR Box 4366.

GULF COAST ARTIST, youthful 41, Episcopalian, conservative. Likes classical music, animals, sun and sea, Cajun and French cooking, Faulkner, Walker Percy, Carson McCullers. Seeks attractive lady, 20–40, caring, traditional values. Write NR Box 4369.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets the cultured single, widowed, or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970—3,000 members. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 215-358-5049.

ART LOVERS' NETWORK connects single, art-loving gentlepersons. ALN, P.O. Box 5106-NR, Westport, Conn. 06881.

Gourmet

FANTASTIC! DELICIOUS! Anything but conservative fruitcake recipe. $2 ppd. Rosstek, P.O. Box 117194, Carrollton, Tex. 75011.

DELICIOUS AND VARIED non-alcoholic beverage recipes. $1.95. Winepress, 3275 Riverside Drive, #254, Tulsa, Okla. 74105.

Miscellaneous

FATHER JOSEPH CHEN, 78, and 100 other priests are still imprisoned in Mainland China. For information write: Free the Fathers, 1120 Applewood, Signal Mountain, Tenn. 37377.

THANKSGIVING NOVENA to St. Jude. O holy St. Jude, apostle and martyr great in virtue and rich in miracles, near kinsman of Jesus Christ, faithful intercessor of all who invoke your special patronage in time of need, to you I have recourse. From the depths of my heart, I humbly beg you, to whom God has given such great power, to come to my assistance. Help me in my present and urgent petition. In return I promise to make your name known and cause to be invoked. Say three Our Fathers, three Hail Marys, three Glorias. Publication must be promised. I have had my request granted. T.A.P.

CHRISTMAS CATALOGUE OF BOOKS available from Books-to-You. Call 303-972-2868 or write Dept. NR, 12409 W. Bowles Drive, Littleton, Colo. 80127.

FREE BROWN SCAPULAR and explanation of its benefits to those who wear it, as told by the Mother of God. Send S.A.S.E. to Box 3057, Casper, Wyo. 82602.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH. Send full page of writing and $20 to Elisabeth King, 121 Madison Avenue, 3A, New York, N.Y. 10016.

NEW YORK BABY-SAVING CENTER needs pro-life counselors and volunteers. Expectant moms and their unborn infants depend on us. Send brief bio to NR Box 4224.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Where a boxer might work on his punches? — 131 73 95 20 179 92 35 109 10 55

B. Strongly expressive — 93 45 154 34 133 167 60 4

C. 15th-century Italian monk — 87 44 176 57 113 6 123 174 22 71

D. Noted Shawnee chief — 134 161 8 47 36 85 118 77

E. Kind of congressional committee (often ironic) — 108 64 3 138 48 27 172 121 75

F. Clamor — 171 40 98 79 156

G. Roof variety — 173 147 16 114 107 160 54 136

H. Malady of the lovelorn — 124 148 19 165 117 99 30 2 70

I. User — 132 151 137 29 23 169 89 53

J. Sodbusters' competition — 130 175 91 120 28 13 49 65 105

K. Household implement (2 words) — 144 116 163 100 39 152 26 78 12

L. Drake, e.g. — 74 7 127 81 37 168 97 21 61 162

M. Upset — 67 119 43 52 166 18

N. A U.S.N.A. graduate should be this — 153 83 38 58 177 94 17 5 145

O. One kind of book — 86 122 149 69

P. Superficial knowledge — 142 90 11 76 106 135 41 170 66 129

Q. German celebration, American style — 112 140 1 46 72 158 59 25 164 101 14

R. Asian Communists — 126 141 62 84 32 178 51 115

S. Chanted — 82 110 150 31 128 50 146 9 102

T. Strange — 139 42 157 103 63

U. It is often grand, but never good — 111 155 143 24 88

V. Hawaii was the last to enjoy this — 96 159 125 56 33 15 80 68 104

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 Q	2 H	3 E		4 B	5 N	6 C	7 L	8 D	9 S	10 A		11 P	12 K	13 J	
14 Q	15 V	16 G	17 N		18 M	19 H	20 A	21 L	22 C	23 I	24 U	25 Q		26 K	27 E
28 J	29 I		30 H	31 S	32 R	33 V		34 B	35 A	36 D	37 L		38 N		39 K
40 F	41 P	42 T		43 M	44 C	45 B	46 Q	47 D	48 E		49 J	50 S	51 R		52 M
53 I	54 G	55 A		56 V	57 C		58 N	59 Q	60 B	61 L	62 R		63 T	64 E	65 J
66 P		67 M	68 V	69 O	70 H		71 C	72 Q	73 A	74 L	75 E		76 P	77 D	78 K
	79 F	80 V	81 L	82 S	83 N	84 R		85 A	86 O	87 C	88 U	89 I	90 P		91 J
92 A	93 B		94 N	95 A	96 V	97 L	98 F	99 H	100K	101Q		102S	103T	104V	105J
106P		107G	108E	109A	110S	111U		112Q	113C		114G	115R	116K	117H	
118D	119M	120J	121E	122O	123C		124H	125V	126R	127L	128S	129P		130J	131A
132I	133B	134D	135P	136G		137I	138E	139T	140Q	141R	142P	143U	144K	145N	
146S	147G	148H		149O	150S	151I	152K	153N	154B	155U	156F	157T	158Q		159V
160G	161D	162L		163K	164Q	165H	166M		167B	168L	169I	170P	171F	172E	
173G	174C		175J	176C	177N	178R	179A								

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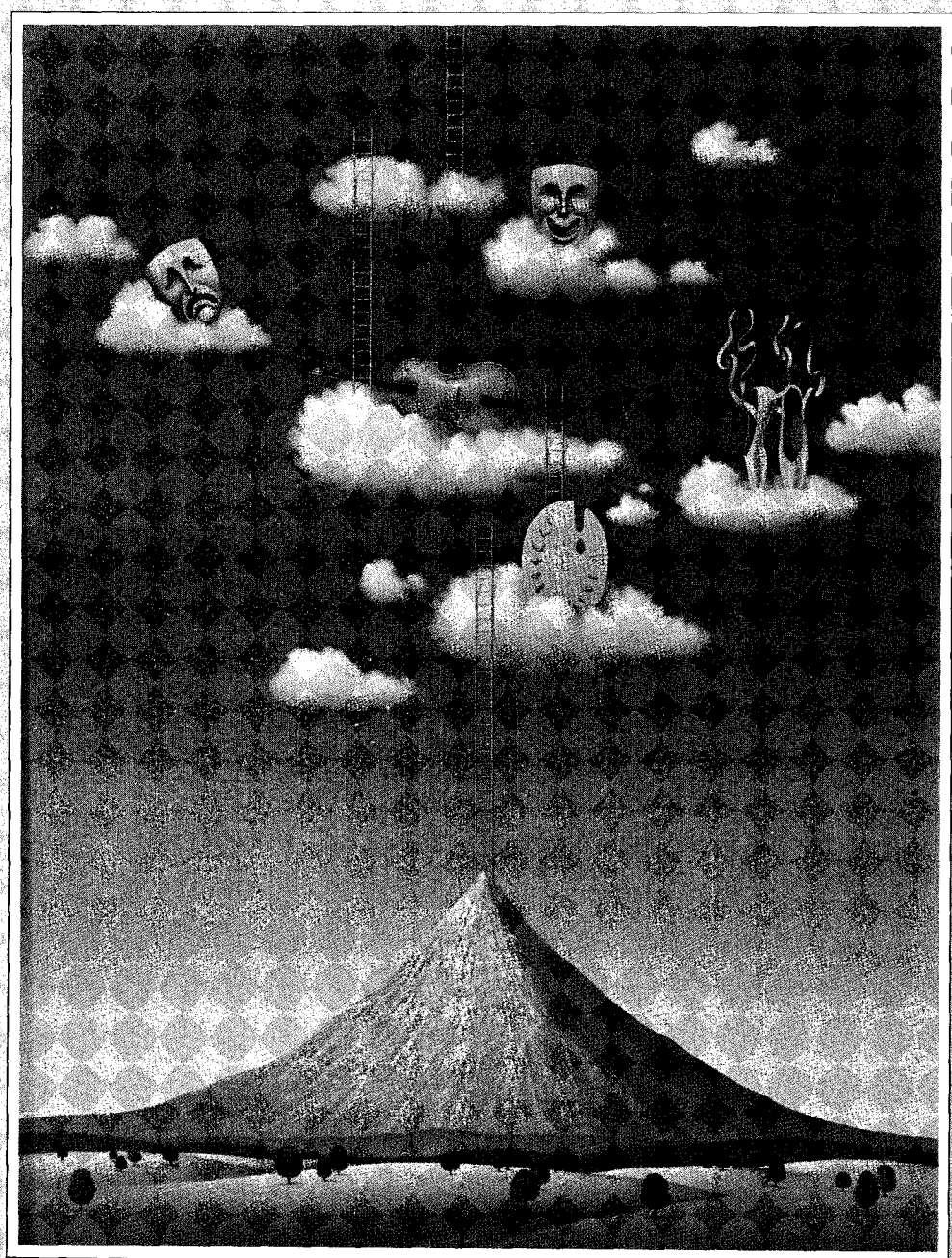

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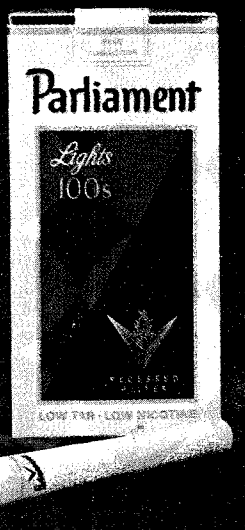

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THE PERFECT RECESS

Re·cess (Webster): A break from activity for rest or relaxation.
Re·cess (Parliament): A unique filter for extra smooth taste and low tar enjoyment.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking By Pregnant Women May Result in Fetal Injury, Premature Birth, And Low Birth Weight.

12 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Feb.'85.

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